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HISTORY OF THE SATARA STATE
1818–1848

By
Smt. Sumitra Kulkarni
(nee Amita Rayrikar)

under the Supervision of

Dr. A. R. Kulkarni
Professor Emeritus,
Department of History,
University of Poona

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Certified that the work incorporated in thesis entitled 'History of the Satara State, 1818-1848' submitted by Smt. Sumitra Kulkarni (nee Amita Rayrikar) was carried out by her under my supervision. Such material as has been obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

(Dr. A. R. Kulkarni)
Professor Emeritus
Department of History
University of Poona
Pune 7

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ABBREVIATIONS

BGR	-	Bombay Government Records
BISM-T	-	Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal - Traimasik
BISM-TSV	-	Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Tritiya Sammelan Vritta
DC	-	Deccan Commissioner's File
EIP	-	Selections ... from the records at East India House, Relating to ... Revenue, police and civil and criminal justice under the Company's Government in India
HA	-	Henry Adams
HF	-	Handwritten Ferisht
JB	-	John Briggs
JG	-	James Grant
JIH	-	Journal of Indian History
JSM	-	Judicial System of the Marathas
ME	-	Mountstuart Elphinstone
MST	-	Map of the Satara Territory
PA	-	Pune Archives
PK	-	Pratapsinhachi Kaifiyat
PP	-	Parliamentary Papers

PRC	-	Poona Residency Correspondence
Roj.	-	Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha
RPS	-	Raja Pratapsinha of Satara, 1818-1839, (Ed.) by Choksey
RSS	-	Raja Shahji of Satara, 1839-1848 (Ed.) by Choksey
SMD	-	Satara Maharaj Daftar
SMD-N	-	Satara Maharaj Daftar, Nirupyogi
SMD-Pha.	-	Satara Maharaj Daftar, Phadposhi
SMD-R	-	Satara Maharaj Daftar, Residency
SPD	-	Selections from the Peshwa Daftar
SRC	-	Satara Residency Correspondence
WC	-	William Chaplin

INTRODUCTION

The British victory at Ashti against the Marathas put an end to the conflict between the two political powers in western India. All the possessions of the Peshwa came under the management of the British and Chhatrapati Pratapsinha fell into the hands of the British February 20, 1818.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was the chief architect of the liquidation of the Maratha power, was appointed 'sole commissioner for the settlement of the territory conquered from the Peishwah'. He was told to provide as he thought fit for the temporary administration of the country and to employ any officers whom he thought suitable for the work. The shape of the new system of Government was in fact left to his discretion. Elphinstone was mainly responsible for laying the foundation of British power in western India. In this work he was greatly helped by his assistants William Chaplin, Henry Robertson, James Grant, John Briggs and Henry Potinger.

Elphinstone was basically a liberal man. He was influenced by the Utilitarian philosophy of Bentham. He could prove himself as the best

administrator because of his liberal policies and sympathetic attitude. But at the same time, by nature he was an orthodox. It was his policy to avoid all unnecessary changes either in the personnel or the measures of the former Government. He only wanted to make necessary reforms in the existing administrative machinery and to make it more efficient.

The creation of Satara state was a diplomatic triumph for Mountstuart Elphinstone. The Governor-General had given him a choice of giving the Raja a jagir or a small sovereignty, to maintain the name and dignity of the royal house of the great Shivaji. He adopted 'the latter plan for various reasons'.

Pratapsinha was the eldest son of Shahu II,* who succeeded after Ramraja. He was born on 18th January 1793. After the death of his father on 4th May 1808, he succeeded to the throne of Maratha country. Pratapsinha was hardly fifteen years old when he was coronated.

The Chhatrapatis who succeeded Shahu after 1748, were the titular rulers of the Maratha kingdom, and the Peshwas or their karbharis had usurped the royal power. Pratapsinha was no exception to this. Like his father, he also spent his early life as a prisoner in the hands of the Peshwa. Bajirao II,

the last Peshwa did not acquaint him with formal education and also kept him ignorant about the administration of the state. Before the Third Anglo-Maratha war Pratapsinha and his mother opened secret negotiations with Elphinstone to ensure their position after the conclusion of the war.

When the last Maratha General, Bapu Gokhale fell in the battle of Ashti, and Bajirao II, fled from the Maratha country to save his life, the victory of the British was certain. The descendent of the Chhatrapati, Pratapsinha was now to their side, and the seat of Maratha power was shifted from Pune to Satara. Pratapsinha assumed the title of 'Raja' and occupied the throne as a protege of the British.

Elphinstone appointed James Grant as the political agent at Satara, with necessary guidelines about the administration of the Satara state. Grant played a valuable role in the history of Satara both as administrator and mentor of the Raja. He laid down the foundations of administration of the newly created Satara Raj. He not only made the Raja expert in administration through his teachings but also played a vital role in the development of his personality. There were many things in which Pratapsinha became interested because of Grant. Both were good friends

and their correspondence continued even after James Grant left Satara for England.

When Grant was satisfied with the administration of Satara by Pratapsinha under his supervision, and was convinced that the Raja would manage his affairs on his own, he urged the Bombay Government to transfer the internal administration to the Raja, and put an end to the office of political agent. Elphinstone accepted Grant's view and on 5th April, 1822 the transfer of internal administration to the Raja took place.

Pratapsinha acquainted himself as a benevolent administrator, and followed assiduously the principles laid down by Grant, popularly known in Satara as '<u>Grant Sahebacha Dastur</u>'. For a fairly long time he enjoyed the confidence of the Bombay Government and introduced a number of new features in his state. He was denied education by the Peshwa, which made him to promote education in his state. He did not spare any efforts in acquiring books and building a good library at Satara. The private school which he started won the admiration of the British officers like A. Robertson. He took deep interest in the growth of Satara by establishing many new peths, and constructing various roads. He

solved the problem of water supply of the growing Satara city by constructing new tanks which improved the conditions of the water supply of the city. He tried to make Satara a beautiful city by constructing new buildings, roads, gardens, tanks, fountains etc. He was greatly instrumental in bringing about the establishment of Mahabaleshwar, a hill station, which became popular in the subsequent period.

But perhaps his success as a ruler, was the chief cause of his deposition in 1839 by the British, though they could produce a charge-sheet against him, which was not valid & tenable. He was succeeded by his brother Shahaji alias Appasaheb who ruled for a brief period and did not leave legal heir behind. This was a splendid opportunity for the British to make use of the Doctrine of Lapse advocated by Lord Dalhousie, and the Satara Raj was annexed to the Bombay Government in 1849.

The history of Satara state created by the British in 1818 and annexed by them in 1849, thus the two dates deserve the attention of the scholars for many reasons.

One of the most important reasons would be that it exhibits the changing attitude of the British towards the people of India. The British, in the formative period of their rule were keen on seeking

support of the people, but once they struck roots, and became confident of their continuance as rulers, they became indifferent to the people and started enlarging their territorial authority. The history of Satara affords the best example in this respect. When one goes through the contemporary records and particularly the papers dealing with the deposition of the Raja, one finds division of opinion even among the British statesmen, but ultimately the lust for power pushed back the wisdom of the statesmen.

The story of Satara cannot be treated in isolation; it has to be linked up with the general policy of the British in India. Lord Hastings (1813-23), the Governor-General of India can be aptly described as the real founder of the British Empire of India, whose policy resulted in the universal establishment of the British influence throughout India. He declared the object of his policy as 'to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so'. The princely states were to be held 'as vassals in substance, though not in name'. This clearly shows that the seeds of destruction of Satara state were sown right at the time of its birth. Thus the struggle between the British and the Raja, though dormant in the initial stages,

was inevitable in the course of time. It is this struggle that forms the main theme of the history of Satara.

The period 1818-1848 was a period which was witnessing a gradual shift from medieval to to modern ideas. The British were struggling hard to strike a balance between the traditions of India and the British ideas and institutions which they were trying to push into Indian structure. The British were aware, as Grant Duff has confessed in his history of the Marathas that they wrested power from the Marathas who directly or indirectly ruled the major part of this vast continent. They did not want the revival of the Brahmin rule, and as such by creating the Satara state, they sowed the feeling of hatred against them in the minds of the non-brahmin communities in Maratha country. This led to the creation of several social and religious problems which the Raja had to face, and which ultimately led to the social reform movement in Maharashtra.

The unique feature about Satara is that new ideas were introduced in administration, without altering much the Maratha administrative framework. British influence on Pratapsinha was unavoidable and inevitable. He learnt many things from them. His close friendship with James Grant introduced him to

new ideas which he tried to implement ~~them~~ in his Raj. Raja Pratapsinha himself noted in his Rojnishi that he (the Raja) told James Grant to write down the administrative principles relating to judiciary, revenue, and troops of his (English) Government in Hindusthani language. Then he would choose good things from both the Governments and would introduce them in the administration of his state.

Thus in short it can be said that the period in which Raja of Satara was functioning deserves attention of scholars, and hence an attempt has been made in this monograph to study the history of Satara in its various aspects.

It may be confessed here at the outset that this is not the first attempt to narrate the story of Satara. Earlier Major Basu (1922), advocate Rane (1929), Prabodhankar Thakare (1948) made efforts in their own way to present the history of Satara Raj. Professor Ballhatchet in his monograph "social policy and social change in western India 1817-1830" has touched many aspects of Satara while evaluating the work of Elphinstone in western India. Professor R. D. Choksey's monographs on Pratapsinha and Shahaji alias Appasaheb, based mainly on English sources, also deserve mention in this respect.

All these earlier attempts are no doubt

praiseworthy, yet they are deficient in one respect or other. For instance, Major B. D. Basu's approach was mainly that of a nationalist historian, whose sole purpose of writing the 'STORY OF SATARA' was to remove the ignorance regarding the affairs of Satara. He was more concerned with the deposition of Pratapsinha rather than with the construction of the history of Satara. Besides he had no access to Marathi documents because of the restrictive policy of the Bombay Government regarding the archival material. Advocate R. G. Rane's 'CHHATRAPATI PRATAPSINHA MAHARAJ YANCHE CHARITRA' is a panegyric account of Pratapsinha rather than a scientific history. It was a history written with a purpose, and therefore lacks objectivity. K. S. Thakare's 'PRATAPSINHA CHHATRAPATI ANI RANGO BAPUJI' is concerned mainly with the efforts made by Rango Bapuji, the agent of Pratapsinha who had gone to London to plead the cause of the Raja in the case of deposition. Professor Ballhatchet's book deals with Satara marginally, and that too is based mainly on English records. Nevertheless, it has helped the authoress of this monograph not only in filling the gaps, but also in getting a better perspective of the period under review. Professor R. D. Choksey's books, 'RAJA PRATAPSINH OF SATARA' and 'RAJA SHAHJI OF SATARA' based as they are on European documents,

supply lot of source material, which has been consulted in the present thesis.

Thus it can be said that an attempt has been made in the following pages to blend the indigenous and foreign sources in presenting a connected and rational account of the state of Satara; its origin and fall. It aims at reconstructing the history of Satara state with special reference to its administrative, social and cultural aspects.

Sources of Information

The present thesis is based mainly on primary unpublished sources, both in Marathi and English most of which have not been fully consulted so far in the earlier works. These sources can be classified as below.

Primary

I. <u>Marathi Sources : Unpublished</u> (Pune Archives)

I.1 Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha of Satara (classified as papers selected for further research, R.No. 39 to 43).

Rojnishi (Diary) is in a way the mirror of an individual's mind; it is a sincere effort of the individual to record things which he may not make public. Rojnishi is more free and natural than biography or autobiography. One can understand an

individual very closely through it. It reflects the psychological and intellectual process of that individual. Every individual who lives in particular era naturally got influenced of the political ideas and social values of that particular era. In other words, he is a representative of that particular period and society. In short Rojnishi can enable us to understand the individual as well as the contemporary social and political life. It is worthwhile to study the Rojnishis of the Raja from this point of view and examine them as an authentic tool for the history of the period under review.

There are twentysix hand-written volumes of the Rojnishis of Raja Pratapsinha. They are well preserved at Pune Archives formerly known as Peshwa Daftar or Alienation Office. All these twentysix volumes are in Marathi, written in Modi script. Each volume runs on an average about three hundred folios.

The first entry of every volume begins on Ashvin Shudhdha Dashami : Vijaya Dashami. There are no references to the writers. Sometime we find different handwritings in the Rojnishis. Therefore, it may be surmised that most of the routine part of the Rojnishi, narrating daily events must have been recorded by the karkuns (clerks) and only important entries like secret talks, specific items of

administration must have been endorsed by the Raja. The first entry is on Ashvin Shudhdha Navami, Shake 1740, 8th October 1818 and the last on 16th November 1838.

It was James Grant, the political agent at Satara advised Pratapsinha to maintain a Rojnishi (Diary) of the daily events for his personal use, and maintain secrecy about it.

One can get through these Rojnishis one hand glimpses of social, political, religious and cultural life, and reflections of the real personality of Raja Pratapsinha. It helps us to understand the mind of Raja Pratapsinha.

The Rojnishi help us to understand the Raja's attitude towards the British, and particularly the relations between the Raja and his jagirdars vis-a-vis the British Residents. One can also get some inklings in the family life of the Raja.

I.2 Papers pertain to Maharaja of Satara (classified as Satara Maharaj Daftar)

I.2.1 Phadposhi Daftar

This collection contains official papers about the transactions of the state.

In the present work more than two hundred papers from Rumal No. 124, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137,

138, 144, 145, 322 have been consulted.

Out of these Rumals, Rumal No. 136 is specially related to the establishments of different peths in the Satara city and is very important. Rumal No. 132 is mainly related to the newly established Civil Hospital by Shahaji at Satara. All the proclamations of various subjects are preserved in Rumal No. 145. The documents kept in Rumal No. 131 are useful for understanding the administration of the Raja. They are particularly useful in providing the information connecting the salaries of various administrative officers, at the central and at the 'petas'.

We also get miscellaneous information in the phadposhi daftar like Khanesumari (census) of Pandharpur taken in 1827, different weights, and measures prevailed in the Satara state etc.

I.2.2 Nirupyogi Daftar

There are about hundreds of Rumals kept separately as 'not useful'. However, a researcher may find something useful for him/her. Rumal No. 322 is found most relevant to the present study. It gives information regarding the functioning of mamlatdars, shekdar.

I.3 Records relating to Satara (classified in Handwritten Ferisht)

I.3.1 '<u>Raja Pratapsinhachi Kaifiyat</u>'

One of the most important documents found in this collection is Pratapsinh's Kaifiyat prepared for the British officers.

The document contains fortyeight folios, which are stitched together. The document is incomplete. It does not mention either the author or the date of its compilation. It appears from the mode of writing that the matter of the kaifiyat was narrated by the Raja himself to a scribe. It was perhaps compiled during the period of exile of the Raja at Varanasi, as it mainly concentrates on the issue of deposition of the Raja. Perhaps it was the first draft of the appeal which the Raja was preparing for the information of the British authorities in India and England.

This document is important for two reasons. It provides new information, regarding the places of secret meetings that took place between Elphinstone and the assistants of Pratapsinha on the eve of the Third Anglo-Maratha War. Secondly, it provides detail information how the evidence was concocted against Raja Pratapsinha, the names of various people involved in that plot, their intensions of involving etc.

I.3.2 Schedule of the territory (classified as Rumal No.4, in Handwritten Ferisht)

It is a true copy of schedule of the territory and revenue ceded to Raja Pratapsinha by the first article of the treaty concluded at Satara on 25th September 1819. At the beginning of the schedule the boundaries of the Satara state are stated which followed the prants and subhas, ceded to Raja Pratapsinha.

I.4 Records relating to the Satara Rajas (at the Deccan College Historical Museum, Pune)

The Deccan College Historical Museum contains important records from the Menavali collection of Nana Phadnis. Parasnis published a few of them in his famous series 'Itihas Sangraha'. However, the records relating to Satara remained practically unexplored.

In the present work more than hundred documents from Rumal No. 1, 6, 10, 55, 57, 58, 59, 93 and Section II-A and 4th B have been consulted of which Nos. 1 and 55 are more useful for Satara.

Rumal No. 6 provides information regarding the social and cultural life prevailing in Satara, whereas Rumal No. 55 supplies data for reconstructing the History of the early period of the Satara state.

Section II-A contains Marathi manuscripts,

known to be Grant Duff's Mss. This section also includes a portion of the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha and <u>Hukum Jabta</u> (1821).

II. <u>English Sources : Unpublished</u> (Pune Archives)

II.1 Satara Residency Correspondence (classified in Ferisht No.6,List No. 5 which contains List No.1 and 2)

Satara Residency correspondence contains 150 files. It is classified as List No. 5. List No. 5 is divided into List No.1 and 2. List No. 1 contains 55 files while List No. 2 contains 95 files.

It is an official correspondence between the Government of Bombay Presidency, Bombay and the Residency at Satara. These files provide all sorts of detail information concerning the Satara state. While Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha shows the Raja's side, his attitude towards English, this correspondence throws light on the British attitude towards the Satara state.

II.2 Deccan Commissioner's File (classified in Ferisht No. 6, File No. 265-280 and 434 to 440)

There are twentyone files of Deccan Commissioner relating to the Satara state. It pertains to the correspondence between the commissioner at Poona and the Resident at Satara. These files provide

complementary information to the Satara Residency correspondence.

II.3 Political Department volumes (Bombay Archives, Bombay)

There are about sixtyone files relating to the history of Satara. It pertains to the correspondence between the Government of the Bombay Presidency and the Residency at Satara. These files are very useful in connection with the administration of the Satara state. They also provides information regarding the six jagirdars kept under the management of Raja Pratapsinha.

II.4 MSS EUR F 88 Box 6B

The private correspondence of various officers, with Mountstuart Elphinstone to be found in India Office Library, London under MSS EUR. Copies of the relevant documents are kept in the Department of History, University of Poona, Pune.

MSS EUR D : 464 related to the revenue and very important source for the revenue administration of the Satara state. It contains interrogation on a variety of topics like Revenue (123), Mohturfa (15), Miscellaneous (8), Abkarees (11), Customs (11), dated 10th September 1820 and replies dated 17th June 1821 from Satara.

III. Marathi Sources : Published

III.1 Marathi Daftar Rumal 1 and 2, Ed. by V. L. Bhave

Rumal No. 1 contains Shedgaonkar Bakhar. Rumàl No. 2 is very important and authentic, which include section No.2, named 'Chatrapatinchi Shake 1739 Til Dinacharya Tipni'. This section provides important information how Pratapsinha got into the hands of the British, his route from Ashti to Satara, his first meeting with Elphinstone at Belsar, the appointment of James Grant as the political agent at Satara, and the installation ceremony of Pratapsinha, etc.

III.2 Selection from Peshwa Daftar - Papers referring to Pratapsinha, Raja of Satara, Vol.42, Ed. by G. S. Sardesai

It contains the extracts of the Rojnishis of Raja Pratapsinha, letters of Pratapsinha to Grant, letters of Rango Bapuji to Raja Pratapsinha etc.

IV. English Sources : Published

IV.1 Poona Residency correspondence, Vol. XIII, Ed. by G. S. Sardesai

IV.2 Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No. XLI, new series (Satara), 1857

It is a collection of about various documents regarding the territory of Satara, its jagirdars, its revenue, resources, the climate, diseases, etc. compiled by various commissioners at Satara like John Briggs, T. Ogilvy, B. Frere etc.

IV.3 Parliamentary Papers - Vol. 1 and 2

IV.4 Selections ... from the records of East India House, Relating to ... Revenue, police and civil and criminal justice under the company's Governments in India (4 vols., London, 1820-6)

Out of four volumes 4th volume is related to Satara, it provides much information regarding justice and revenue under the Satara state.

IV.5 Memorial to her majesty the Queen from (the Late) H. H. Sagunabai, Saheb Rani of Satara, widow of Appasaheb Raje.

IV.6 Following are some official records which are very important for the case of the deposed Raja of Satara, Pratapsinha. They are compiled in one book available in the Jayakar Library, University of Poona, Pune.

(i) 'The Deposed Raja of Sattara - statement of his case by His Highness addressed to Her Majesty, the Queen, London, 1842.'

(ii) 'Proceedings at a special general court of proprietors of East India stock, held at the East India House on the 12th and 13th February 1840, Respecting the dethronment of His Highness the Rajah of Sattara, London, 1840.'

(iii) 'Official papers appertaining to the case of the dethroned Raja of Sattara, with a brief statement of the case, London, 1843.'

(iv) 'Official papers appertaining to the case of the Dethroned Raja of Sattara, with a brief statement of the case by Rungo Bapojee, Vakeel.'

(v) 'Speech of Mr. John Sullivian in the court of proprietors at the East India House, on the 8th February 1843.'

(vi) 'The speech of the late Charles Norris in the General court of proprietors at the India House, 29th July 1842.'

(vii) 'A statement of the case of the Deposed Raja of Sattara, taken from the official papers printed by parliament and by the court of Directors of the East India Company with remarks upon the 'Evidence by W.N. Nicholson, London, 1845.'

(viii) 'Case of the Raja of Sattara - Dissent of the late John Forbes delivered at a court of Directors of

the East India Company, held on 8th April 1840.'

(ix) 'A letter with accompaniments from Eswunt Row Raja Sirkey, Bhuwant Row Withul and Rungo Bapojee to the court of Directors of the East India Company and the president of the Board of Control, 8th February 1841.'

(x) 'A letter to the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor General of India from His Highness Purtab Shean, Rajah of Sattara, now in exile at Benares, London, 1845.'

* Shahu II, popularly known as Abasaheb Maharaj, was the eldest son of Trimbakji Bhosle of Wawi, descended from Vithoji, great uncle of Shivaji.

The third Anglo-Maratha war of 1817-18 is important, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it wiped out the two hundred year old Maratha power, subjected the Maratha country under the direct administration of the East India Company, and secondly, it created the State of Satara.

Satara state was a diplomatic achievement of Mountstuart Elphinstone. Among the fundamental principles which were to guide Elphinstone in the new 'arrangement', he was told to make some 'provision in land' for the Chhatrapati, the descendant of Shivaji and the nominal head of Maratha Empire. The Chhatrapati was to be established in a territorial possession, to be held either as a dependent jagir, or as 'a distinct sovereignty', under stipulations securing the supremacy of the British Government. The declared object of this part of the plan was, to conciliate the Marathas to the new order of things, and establish a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Peshwa's Brahminical administration. The mode, and form, and amount of the provision were

left to Elphinstone's discretion, so that the object might be mostly securely obtained.[1] With respect to military establishment, it was not intended to allow the Raja to entertain any troops of his own, and the military services of all the jagirdars and other retainers of the late Maratha Empire, transferred to the British Government. Therefore the Satara court differs little from the pageant courts of Delhi, Murshidabad, and Arcot.

Elphinstone knew very well that for securing the tranquility of the conquered country, he had to conciliate the people, i.e. the Marathas, 'by setting up the Raja of Sattara'. He wanted the cooperation and sympathy of the people for establishing the British Rule in Maharashtra. He felt that by creating a small state of Satara and entrusting it to Raja Pratapsinha, the descendant of Shivaji, he might get the cooperation of the Maratha people. Raja Pratapsinha was installed at Satara, but at the same time Elphinstone, who was diplomat enough added that, 'it will be proper to impress on them (the people) as well as on the Raja that it is not intended to revive even in name the Empire of Seevajee ...'.[2] James Grant, the political agent at Satara had to secure the Raja's goodwill, but he had also to make it quite clear that the authority of the British Government was, in reality, the supreme.

The next intention in founding a small state for the Raja was 'to afford an honourable maintenance to the representative of the ancient princes of this country and to establish among the Marattas a counter-poize to the remaining influence of the former Bramin Government',[3] as was proposed in his instructions from the Governor-General. The British tried to impress on the minds of the people that their fight was against the Peshwa and not against the Chhatrapati. Peshwa had usurped the Maratha power from the Chhatrapati and established the Brahmin Government. Chhatrapati became a prisoner in the hands of the Peshwa and the British wanted to rescue him from captivity and to place him on new 'Gadi'.

The next intention in founding the state of Satara for the Raja was that it would maintain as Elphinstone had pointed out 'some of the civil and religious orders whom it might be difficult to dispose of under our (the British) own direct Government'.[4]

Under Shivaji, Satara as a city possessed no political importance. During the war of Independence Satara City became the main centre of political activity. Rajaram made Satara his capital for two reasons. Firstly Raygad and Rajgad had fallen into the hands of the Mughals and more importantly, Satara was a central and safer place. During the times of

Rani Tarabai, Satara retained its position as the main political centre. When Shahu was released from the Mughal custody in 1707, he also made Satara as his capital and began to administer the country from Satara. But after the death of Shahu in 1749, the centre of political activity was shifted to Poona as the Peshwa became powerful and Chhatrapati became the nominal head of the Maratha country. Now all the political activities came to be controlled from Poona. Satara came to be known only as the residence of the Chhatrapati. Ramraja (1749-1763) and Shahu II (1763-1808) acted as the titular heads of the Maratha power.

Shahu II, the father of Pratapsinha died on 4th May 1808 and was succeeded by his eldest son Pratapsinha (born on 18th January 1793). Pratapsinha was hardly fifteen years old when he was coronated. Naturally it was Rani Anandibai, popularly known as Maisaheb, his mother who helped him in administering the country during the early years. Correspondence is available between Bajirao II and Maisaheb from which it can be concluded that the relations between them were cordial upto 1811-12. Number of Yadis are available which reveal that after 1812 complaints were often made by the Chhatrapati to the Peshwa Bajirao II about their insufficient allowances for

the Royal family. Like his father, Pratapsinha also spent his early life as a prisoner in the hands of the Peshwa. Bajirao had made no arrangements for his proper education.[5] He was also kept ignorant about the administration. In spite of being a Chhatrapati, he had no powers or independence.

By 1817 Bajirao's position had become precarious in the Maratha Mandala. He had lost confidence of the Holkars long back and the Shindes were busy with solving their own problems. Taking advantage of the situation Elphinstone imposed a treaty of 'self-denayal'. Bajirao had signed the treaty (13th June 1817) under severe pressure. Among other humiliating provisions, Bajirao had to acknowledge his entire dependence upon the British Government in all external relations. On 25th June 1817, he proceeded from Pandharpur to Mahuli. He secretly incited several Indian powers against the British. While preparing for a war against the British he visited the Chhatrapati at Mahuli and requested him to be in favour with him.[6]

Shortly before the last Anglo-Maratha War, Bajirao had virtually imprisoned the Chhatrapati and his family at the Wasota Fort near Satara for two reasons. Firstly, he had realised the importance of keeping under his control the head of the Maratha

Empire, and secondly, he had discovered that the Chhatrapati was secretly conducting dangerous negotiations with the British Resident at Pune.

On 5th November 1817, Bajirao attacked the British forces at Pune without success. On 16th November Bajirao precipitately retreated to Pandharpur, and on 17th November, British flag was hoisted on the Shaniwar Wada, the seat of the Peshwa at Pune. Peshwa proceeded via Jejuri to the south with the intention of securing the Chhatrapati and his family lest they should desert to the English. On reaching Mahuli, he dispatched Naro Apte to fetch the Chhatrapati from the Wasota Fort. On 14th December 1817, the Chhatrapati with his mother and two brothers joined Bajirao at Siddhatek. On 1st January 1818, the British won another victory at Koregaon against the forces of the Peshwa.

Pratapsinha and his mother had opened secret negotiations with Elphinstone and General Smith at Pune, Rahimatpur and Akluj.[7] In this connection the Chhatrapati was greatly helped by Narsu Kakde, popularly known as Narsu Jamdar, and Balwant Malhar Chitnis.[8]

In the first meeting with Elphinstone at Pune (about mid of 1817) Balwant Malhar Chitnis secretly informed him about Bajirao's plan of waging war

against the British and reminded him of his previous promises to Pratapsinha which are not specifically mentioned any where.[9] In the second meeting at Rahimatpur, Narsu Jamdar told Elphinstone about the troops and garrisons of the Satara Fort, and assured him that the Satara Fort would be easily captured. Elphinstone further told Narsu Jamdar that he had heard that Bajirao along with the Chhatrapati might go into Hindusthan, added, but he did not want Pratapsinha to go with Bajirao II. He suggested that the British forces would make a surprise night attack on the Peshwa and taking advantage of the confusion created by this, he should escape and join the British.[10] After that meeting Narsu Jamdar came to Sholapur, and from there he sent the message of Elphinstone to Chhatrapati Pratapsinha. A counter message was sent by Pratapsinha to Narsu Jamdar which he conveyed to General Smith at Akluj. At Akluj he informed General Smith that a day-time attack would be made upon the forces of the Peshwa which would make it possible for the Chhatrapati to escape from the camp.[11]

Thus, according to the pre-conceived plan as well as being sure of his friendship with the British, the Chhatrapati joined them at the battle of Ashti.

Elphinstone and General Pritzler captured the

Fort and town of Satara in the evening of 10th February 1818. 'The line and garrison joked with each other as the latter was marching out',[12] and the British troops occupied the town quitely. At noon on the following day, in order to make the situation clear, the British flag was hoisted for a moment and then pulled down; it was at once replaced by the Chhatrapati's. Elphinstone 'assembled the Rajah's officers and principal inhabitants and laid open our views which,' he thought, 'were received with much satisfaction by the auditors'.[13] To add weight to the counterpoise to the influence of Bajirao, Elphinstone, in consultation with Thomas Munro, drew up the famous proclamation of 11th February stating the case against him, outlining the British plans for the future, and calling upon all in the Peshwa's service to withdraw from it within two months on pain of forfeiting their lands.[14] The proclamation said, "... The Rajah of Sattara who is now a prisoner in BajeeRow's hands will be released and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty of such an extent as may maintain the Rajah his family in comfort and dignity. With this view the fort of Sattara has been taken, the Rajah's flag has been set up in it...".[15] It seems that Pratapsinha had consented to this proclamation.

As above mentioned, according to the pre-conceived plan, Chhatrapati Pratapsinha joined the British forces at the battle of Ashti.[16] General Smith had 'infinite satisfaction' in reporting to Elphinstone that 'Sattara Rajah, his brother and mother were, ... rescued and brought safe into camp to their great satisfaction and joy'.[17] Next day (20.2.1818) Smith again visited Raja and his family. In that meeting Pratapsinha told General Smith that he wanted to meet Elphinstone as early as possible. He also requested General Smith not to hand over him and his family to Bajirao.[18] Pratapsinha wanted to write a letter to Elphinstone about his joining the British. Instead he wrote a letter about his joining the British to Balajipant Natu, who was close to Elphinstone.[19]

On 4th March Elphinstone arrived in General Smith's camp at Belsar. He met the Raja and his family. Raja received Elphinstone 'with great cordiality and with strong appearance of satisfaction'. In that meeting Elphinstone was accompanied by James Grant, Gen. Smith, Russel, Bilimore and Balajipant Natu.[20] He was meeting the Raja and his family for the first time. In this respect he writes, 'the Raja is about 20 years of age and seems frank and good humoured, not destitude of intelligence'.[21] Elphinstone wrote further that Raja's

brothers were 'still more pre-possessing in their appearance' and the Raja's mother seemed 'a woman of some talents and address', 'a fine old lady, who has been handsome, and has still very fine eyes'. Elphinstone's reception was formal : 'they observe all the Eastern sovereignty neither rising on the entrance of strangers nor returning salutes'.[22] In the first meeting with the Raja, Elphinstone told him that all the actions were reported to the Governor General. He further told that if the Raja wanted to deliver any message to the Governor General he could give it to Russel. To this Pratapsinha answered that he (Elphinstone) was his lord and master. He could decide whatever he wanted. He had full confidence in him.[23]

After that meeting Elphinstone left Balajipant Natu at camp and went to Poona. Balajipant Natu who was very close to Elphinstone and who had weightage in the British court, was desirous of getting the Diwan-ship of Satara. During those days he always tried to bring the Raja and all his men under his control, which the Raja disliked. The Raja was very reluctant to appoint Balaji as his Diwan, as he had no trust in him. Therefore he told Elphinstone through Chitnis, to appoint a good and deserving Englishman, who could understand the Hindusthani language. Thus James Grant

was appointed as the political agent at Satara and Balajipant Natu was appointed as his native assistant.[24]

Raja Pratapsinha started his return journey to Satara. Elphinstone and some of the officers accompanied him to Satara. The details of his route are available from 21st February 1818 when he was at Karkamb and when approached in the vicinity of Satara, by the end of March 1818.[25]

After capturing the forts of Chandan, Wandan and Wasota, the British forces along with Pratapsinha reached Satara on 10th April 1818.[26] Elphinstone who accompanied Raja Pratapsinha to Satara saw him entering his capital 'in procession with the pomp of a prince and the delight of a school boy'.[27] The Raja was formally enthroned on 10th April.[28] He and his brothers mounted upon elphants, went in procession through the town. When he dismounted at the palace, 'three or four sheeps were killed ... and a quantity of holy water poured out'. A pavilion or mandap had been erected in the court of the palace; there stood Shivaji's throne, 'a little old-fashioned couch', which had been 'covered with rich cloths'.[29] '... he (the Raja) formally took his seat on his throne in full Durbar and soon after published a proclamation announcing his connection with the British and the

peculiar injuries he had received from Bajee Row.'[30] Then rose water and flowers were distributed and Elphinstone and his party took their leave.[31]

On 11th April, Elphinstone gave a banquet in honour of the Raja at Shahu Nagar.[32] On 12th April several proclamations were issued stating the friendship of the company's Government and the Raja's Government. On 13th April, Raja Pratapsinha gave a banquet in honour of Elphinstone and honoured him by giving jewels and clothes.[33] A diamond ring was presented by the Raja's mother, Maisaheb to Elphinstone on his leaving Satara.[34]

To define the boundaries of the new state was an important question. The territories which the British conquered from the Peshwa, actually belonged to the Chhatrapati, but they assigned to the Raja a very small portion of the territory between the rivers Nira and Warna, 'sufficient for the maintenance of his family in comfort and dignity'. Both James Grant and his assistant Balajipant Natu prepared the mind of the Raja to accept the idea of a limited state.

At Elphinstone's suggestion the boundaries of the new state were fixed at the Ghats on the west, the Nira on the north, the Nizam's frontier on the east, and the rivers Krishna and Warna on the south.[35] It was estimated in 1821 that the Raja's net annual

revenues would be little short of 15 lakhs of rupees.[36] In fact, for the twenty years of Pratapsinha's reign they averaged Rs. 14,56,603.[37]

Though the Raja was installed on 10th April 1818, a treaty of 'perpetual friendship and alliance' was concluded on 25th September 1819. According to Elphinstone, the treaty had two main objects : 'fixing his (Raja's) future power, and our (the British) own control on a more defined basis'.[38] Elphinstone in his letter to James Grant[39] had also pointed out how the control of the British Government was to be exercised and when it was to be withdrawn. For exercising the control, he stated two main things to Grant. They were 'keeping the entire control of his Government in the hands of the British' and 'sufficient control to prevent such disorders ...'. Elphinstone advised Grant 'care must indeed be taken to prevent improper persons from getting access to the Raja'.

On 22nd September 1819 Grant delivered 'the Marrata translation of the draft of the proposed treaty, and requested His Highness would deliberate for a day or two up on the several articles.'[40] He saw the Raja daily on the 23rd, 24th and 25th and was several hours with him at each interview. He explained and talked over every part of the treaty and listened attentively to everything that was mentioned

during the conversation. Finally the treaty between the East India Company and Raja Pratapsinha was concluded at Satara on 25th September 1819 by James Grant, political agent on the part of the East India Company and Vithal Ballal on the part of the Raja.[41]

The treaty was consisted of eleven articles.

According to the first article of the treaty, the boundaries of the new state and the territory which was ceded to Pratapsinha were decided.[42] The new state contained the following fourteen divisions : Nirthadi (prant Pune) and Shirval, Wai, Rohidkhore, Jawlee Subha, Karad, South Konkan, Khatav, Mandesh, Phaltan, Bijapur prant, Prant Miraj, Prant Panhala, Prant Raibag and Prant Kagal.[43] Addition to that the following six jagirdars were put under his control. They were Pratinidhi of Aundh, Pant Sachiv of Bhor, Raja of Akkalkot, Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Daphle of Jath and Shaikh Meera of Wai. The treaty further recorded that the Raja engaged to hold the territory in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British agent at the Raja's court.

The third article says, 'The British Government charges itself with the defence of the Raja's territories and engages to protect His Highness from all injury and aggression'.

The Raja could not increase or diminish his military force 'without the previous knowledge and consent of the British Government'.

The most important article of the treaty was the fifth one. It says, 'The Raja for himself and for his heirs and successors engages to forbear from all intercourse with foreign powers and with all sirdars, jageerdars, chiefs and ministers and all persons of whatever description who are not by the above articles rendered subject to His Highness's authority. With all the above persons His Highness for himself and for his heirs and successors engages to have no connection or correspondence - any affairs that may arise with them relating to His Highness are to be exclusively conducted by the British Government. If (for the purpose of forming matrimonial connections for His Highness's family or for any similar purpose), His Highness has occasion to communicate with persons not rendered subject to his authority by this agreement, such communication is to be made entirely through the political agent. This article is a fundamental condition of the present agreement and any departure from it on the Raja's part shall subject him to the loss of all the advantages he may gain by the said 'Agreement'.'

According to the 6th Article 'the administration

would for the present remained in the hands of the British political agent, that officer would however conduct the Government in the Raja's home and in consultation with His Highness and as the Raja and his officers should acquire experience and evinced their ability to govern the country, the British Government would gradually transfer the whole administration into their hands.'

On the 26th the Raja told Grant that he was desirous of appointing Vithalpant to act as his minister, at the same time proposed Grant to attend the coming Dasara ceremony to receive the seal under which all the orders were to be issued in his name.[44] On the same day, Grant immediately sent circular order over the whole country announcing the conclusion of the treaty and proclaiming the Raja.[45]

James Grant, the first Political Agent of the new state conducted the administration under the instructions from the sole commissioner, Elphinstone, who furnished a complete code of rules by which the Government was to be conducted. The Raja being naturally very intelligent and clever, soon got insight into the administration under the able and friendly guidance of Grant, who trained him in the principles and details of Government and sufficiently acquainted him with a practical knowledge of the

world. He not only instructed him in the art of administration, but cultivated in him a higher taste for literature and general knowledge and education and instilled him into his mind the importance of virtue and character.[46]

Grant was strictly following Article 6th of the treaty of 1819 which explicitly said that though the Resident would be managing the affairs of the state he should make efforts to pave the ground for gradual transfer of power to the Raja. By 1822, he was convinced that the time for transfer of power had come as the Raja was sufficiently trained to shoulder the responsibility of the Government.

However, there were differences of opinions among the British officers about the actual period of transfer of internal administration to the Raja. The correspondence between Grant and Chaplin, the commissioner is quite revealing. Grant was of the opinion that the transfer should be done by stages. Chaplin, however, objected to the idea of handing over power by stages. The Governor in council partly accepted Chaplin's argument that the transfer of power should be effected in one operation than in stages but at the same time declared that it should be done as soon as possible.[47] Thus, 5th April 1822, was 'fixed for transferring to His Highness agreeably to the

conditions of the treaty, the direct charge and control of his territory which has hitherto been under the immediate superintendence of Grant, the political agent.'[48] William Chaplin was the chief guest of the ceremony.[49]

On the 5th April 1822, 'the seal and sikka of the state were publicly restored to His Highness by Captain Grant under a Royal salute and by the Brigade drawn up for the occasion.'[50] A proclamation ... was at the same time read aloud by Balajipant Natu,[51] 'explaining the circumstances of the transfer of independence powers to the Raja and shortly defining his relations with the jageerdars placed under his Government.'[52] On the following day William Chaplin received the Raja who was accompanied by his brother and his jagirdars, to all of whom complimentary presents were distributed proportionate to the rank of each according to the established usage.

Grant left Satara to England on 27th November 1822. On the recommendation of Grant, the exemplary conduct of the Raja was taken into consideration by the British Government and the historical fortress of Pratapgad was ceded to him in 1823 as a mark of favour.

John Briggs succeeded Grant in January 1823. He was a great scholar and a very affable and kind

hearted gentleman. Suffered from ill health he had to hand over the charge of his residency in December 1826 and proceeded on leave to England on the 18th January 1827. He parted as a friend of the Raja for whom he had "great respect for his many excellent qualities as a man and as a ruler."[53]

William Simson, took over charge of the Satara Residency from Briggs in December 1826. On the latter's departure home on leave, Simson acted as Resident. Lt.Col. Archibald Robertson took over the office from him in June 1827. Raja Pratapsinha had found in the new Resident, a kind and generous friend, who possessed fine manners and an obliging disposition. A. Robertson left Satara in January 1832. He was followed by Lodwick. Th. 7009

All Residents and Governors in the initial stages of Satara Raj were full of praise for the ability, integrity and efficient administration of the Raja.

As Governor of Bombay Elphinstone paid a visit to Satara in 1822. Regarding the Raja of Satara he wrote, 'I must tell you what a good fellow the little Raja of Satara is. When I visited him we sat on two musnuds without exchanging one single word, in a very respectable durbar; but the moment we retired to a khilwat the Raja produced his civil and criminal register and his minute of demands, collections and

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balances for the last quarter and began explaining the state of his country as eagerly as a young collector...'[54]

In 1825 Bishop Heber wrote, "The Raja of Sattara is described as a well-disposed youngman of good understanding, whose system of Government, though he is now quite out of leading strings is still happily influenced by the instruction and example which he received in his early youth from the then the resident Captain Grant. His country is peaceable, orderly, and as prosperous as can be expected under the calamitous dispensations of providence which have afflicted it as well as the neighbours'. The Raja himself is said to be so ardent a professed lover of peace as almost to bring his sincerity into question..."[55]

In 1829, Sir John Malcolm admired the condition of the country, the chief's devotion to business, and his promotion of useful works. Lord Clare who met the Raja in October, 1833, also admired his administration.

Even, the court of Directors, in a letter to the Bombay Government in 1829, "are impressed with a highly favourable opinion of the administration of the Raja of Sattara. He appears to be remarkable among the princess of India for his mildness, frugality, and attention to business, to be sensible of what he owns to the British Government, and of the necessity of maintaining a good understanding with it ..."[56]

Again, in the year 1831, "the information on which your records supply, as to the proceedings of the Raja of Sattara, continues to confirm the highly favourable opinion we had formed of his disposition, and of his capacity for Government."[57] Subsequently, in the year 1834, in answer to a letter from the Bombay Government, suggesting that some testimonial should be conferred upon the Raja, of the high sense in which his spirit and liberality were held. We find the court of directors requesting information from the Bombay Government as to what that testimonial should be.[58] And on the 22nd of July 1835 it was, "resolved that having had reference to the letter from Bombay in the political department, dated the 21st of January last, in respect to the description of a testimonial that would be most acceptable to the Raja of Sattara as a mark of the court's sense of his conduct, the chairman and deputy chairman be requested to purchase a sword suitable to the occasion and that a communication to be made to the Bombay Government on the subject at the period of sending out the sword, accompanied by a letter from the court, to be presented to the Raja."

On the 29th of December 1835, the letter was addressed to the Raja by the court of directors saying "the court of directors have unanimously resolved

to transmit to you a sword, which will be presented to you through the Government of Bombay and which we trust you will receive with satisfaction, as a token of their high esteem and regard."[59] Robert Grant, who was the Governor of Bombay at that time, did not present the sword to the Raja on the contrary after few years, the Raja received the memorandum of his deposition.

Till the year 1832, the utmost harmony, cordiality and confidence prevailed between the Bombay Government and the Raja. In that year the Raja's jurisdiction over a portion of the jagir of the Pant Sachiv, was questioned on the ground that such portion lay beyond the boundary line of the Satara territory. The Bombay Government decided the question against the Raja, who, therefore, like an honest, straightforward man deprived, as he considered, addressed letters, in 1833 to Mountstuart Elphinstone and also to Grant Duff, and A. Robertson, requesting them to state their sentiments upon the point.

The Raja remonstrated against what he considered a violation of his rights (Treaty), and made many and fruitless attempts to obtain a recognition of his claims from the Bombay Government. Those claims were rejected by the Bombay Government, but were subsequently allowed by the court of directors, who ordered[60] "that the Raja's claim to the reversion of the

estates of the feudal chiefs of whom by Treaty he was a sovereign, and who held their titles from him under British guarantee, should be admitted."

This allowance of his claim was, after some opposition on the part of the Bombay Government, communicated to the Raja by Lodwick, the Resident, and in the month of May, 1835, an interview took place between the Raja and Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, at which the Raja brought forward a claim upon six jagirdars in the event of lapse by death of otherwise. Sir Robert Grant unreservedly promised[61] that the Raja's claims should, without delay, be submitted to the Court of Directors, and instructed Lodwick to prepare a statement of them. Such statement was accordingly prepared[62] and sent to the Bombay Government in July 1835, for onward transmission to England.

July 1835 to May 1836, no notice whatever was taken of the Raja's claims by the Bombay Government, nor was any reason assigned for the non-performance of the explicit and solemn assurance of Sir Robert Grant, that a statement of those claims would be forwarded to England. In May, 1836, the Raja again had an interview with Robert Grant, and being in a state of great anxiety of the subject, reminded him of the pledge he had given a year before and requested him to be informed of the result. After much hesitation,

and in consultation with the political secretary Mr. Willoughby and the Resident, Lodwick, the Raja was told by Willoughby (who spoke for Sir Robert Grant) that his claims had been referred generally, but that in a short time they would be made the subject of a special report. Being disgusted with the delaying tactics of the Bombay Government, and after wasting about four years in getting his grievances redressed, the Raja decided to send his envoy to London to present his case before the court of directors.

It was during his period, the Raja's mind was agitated by a feeling that he had been neglected and wronged. He was dissatisfied with the Government and the Resident. The Government of Bombay was also simultaneously nursing a feeling of distrust towards the Raja. As a result of this conflict, the first charge was brought against the Raja in July 1836, of his having attempted to seduce the subhedars of the 23rd Native Infantry from their allegiance.[63]

While the Raja was fighting with the British for his rights, the domestic problems created by the conflict between the Brahmanas and the Prabhus, called '<u>Gramanyas</u>' or caste disputes also disturbed his peace of mind. This conflict between these two castes over the performance of certain religious rites, was an age long one. Raja had never received

a fair treatment from the Peshwa in his early life and therefore naturally developed an animus against them. Balajipant Natu, who had a personal grudge against the Raja lodged a complaint against him for his hostile attitude towards the Brahmins. He also put forth a complaint that under Pratapsinha, their religion came in danger. In fact the British had no business to enter into such religious problems. They were scrupulously avoiding their entanglement in socio-religious problems since the days of Elphinstone. But this complaint from Balajipant Natu, who was close to them and known to be an enemy of the Raja, came as a ready tool in the hands of the British Government to accuse the Raja of destroying social harmony.

On the 7th of October 1836, Raja handed over Govindrao Diwan, to the Resident at the request of the Bombay Government and was placed in separate confinement. Then he was sent to Poona and in July 1837 to Nagar. With Govindrao Diwan, Parshuram, a perfumer in the town of Satara and Kushaba Mali, a servant of Diwan were also arrested.

A secret commission, consisting of the Resident Lodwick, Col. Ovans, Quarter-master General of the Bombay army, and Willoughby, political secretary to Government, was subsequently appointed to ascertain the truth of this charge "through the medium, of an

impartial investigation". The commission held its sittings in Satara. Their proceedings commenced on the 12th of October and came to a conclusion on the 4th of November 1836, covering a period of twentyone days. The commission collected evidence from various persons but surprisingly these witnesses were not subjected to any searching cross examination. The Raja was denied 'the privilege of being represented before this commission by counsel and also refused copies of the depositions recorded against' him.[64] On the 29th of October, when the Raja had attended the commission, the evidence against him was read out to him in Hindusthani. The Raja stated that the whole was 'a fable' and requested the commission to supply the copies of the depositions in the Marathi language. The Raja was promised that his request would be complied with, but the promise was never fulfilled. In a letter addressed to Lodwick, dated 23rd March 1837,[65] Pratapsinha referred to the promise that had been made him and repeated his request. The commission was unanimous in recording that the Raja committed the offence and forwarded it to the Governor, for necessary action.

In June 1837, Lodwick was removed from the Residency and Col. Ovans was appointed as Acting Resident. On the appointment of Col. Ovans, as Acting

Resident, the Raja had renewed his request during an interview with him, on the 21st of June 1837. To this request, Col. Ovans in a letter to the Government, dated Jund 24th 1837, states that he replied, "that that commission, being a secret one, no copy of any part of its proceedings could be given."[66]

The Raja himself was quite conscious of his innocence and knowing that there was no prospect and hope of his obtaining any justice at the hands of the authorities at Bombay, tried to represent his case to the Governor-General at Calcutta and the Directors of the East India Company in England. With this object in view he sent his agents to Bombay to induce some Englishmen to take up his case and represent his grievances to the higher authorities. In this connection many Englishmen like Dr. Milne, the retired physician general of the Bombay army and Captain Cogan of the Indian Navy, Macdonald, the editor of the Bombay Gazette helped the Raja. Dr. Milne wrote on behalf of the Raja many letters to the Government of Bombay as well as to that of India but no attention was paid to them. So the Raja at last decided to send his Vakil (agent) to England and Sayyad Mir Afzal Ali was sent in 1838, who reached England in December of that year. Pratapsinha also sent Yashwantrao Shirke, Chitkoji Surve, Bhagwantrao

Withal to England. They left Bombay on 19th March 1839. When they reached London, with the help of Forbes, they made many appeals to the court of directors. They tried to present the injustice done on the Raja through the newspapers. On 30th June 1840 Rango Bapuji also reached England and joined them.[67]

It was the intention of the various branches of the Indian Government that the Raja should know the nature of the offences of which he had been accused - have the means of meeting the charges brought against the Raja and of establishing his innocence, prior to being visited with any punishment.

Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay in a minute in council recorded on the 15th of August 1837, says, "... before the case is conclusively disposed off, the Rajah should be made acquainted with the fresh evidence that has been elicited against him and should be allowed the opportunity of offering defence or explanation."[68] In the last of five elaborate and consecutive minutes, he again repeated that opinion, 'not meaning that there should be merely the form or farce of a trial, to be closed by a readymade judgement but that the defence should be fairly heard and impartially weighted'.[69]

The Governor-General Lord Auckland in his minute from Simla dated September 23rd 1838 says, "As the

first step, I would, as suggested by Sir Robert Grant, ... request that the Rajah should be furnished with a written statement, embodying a full and clear detail of the facts connected with the several charges, and of the names (with any reservations which may be absolutely required for the safety of the party) of the witnesses by whom they are proved, with a notice of the circumstances under which the evidence was obtained and call for from him, within a certain reasonable time to be fixed, a similar written statement of whatever he may desire to urge in his own behalf."[70]

In conformity with this minute, the Resident at Satara on the 17th October 1838 was called upon by the Bombay Authorities to prepare and submit for the approval of Government, "with as little delay as possible" a statement of the description adverted in the Governor-General's minute on the 15th of November 1838, the Resident Col. Ovans forwarded to the secretary of the Bombay Government the draft of a statement of the principal charges against the Raja. This statement, the Resident accompanied by a long letter, extending to thirty paragraphs, written with the avowed object of determining the Government to withhold from the Raja the document which Sir Robert Grant and Lord Auckland had considered it proper should be placed in his hands and strongly recommending the suspension of

his authority, as the only course by which the difficulties of the case might be overcome.

The printed papers however, contain the proof that it was the intention of the Government that an inquiry should precede any final decision. Sir James Rivett Carnac, newly appointed as the Governor of Bombay, in a minute, dated the 22nd November 1838, says, "... I am of opinion that a commission should be at once appointed, with full and explicit instructions for the conduct of the inquiry and when they are assembled, the statement prepared by Lieutenant Colonel Ovans, should be communicated to the Rajah - effectual measures having been previously adopted for protecting the witnesses".[71] To this opinion of the Governor, the members of the council concurred. The letter of the Resident and the opinions of the Bombay Government, having been brought under the attention of the Governor-General Lord Auckland recorded a minute on the subject, under date Lahore, 29th December 1838.[72] Lord Auckland after assigning other reasons for postponing an enquiry, finally resolved to await the issue of an application to the honourable the court of directors.

Sir Robert Grant died at Dapodi (near Pune), on 9th July 1838 and was succeeded by Sir James Rivett Carnac. On the appointment of Sir James

Rivett Carnac, to the Governor of Bombay, he was charged to assure the Raja of the anxious wish of the court of directors that matters should be restored to their state of amity and goodwill and was instructed to put an end to the persecutions against the Raja. Sir James Carnac was for some time chairman of the court of directors of the East India Company and hence the home authorities had vested him with full powers for the settlement of all the questions relating to the Raja of Satara. He was empowered by the court of directors 'not only to suppress all further inquiry but to consign the entire question to complete oblivion.'[73]

The first minute recorded by Sir James Carnac, is dated 19th June 1839.[74] It is to be observed, that two additional charges were specifically made in this minute. The minute says,[75] "I think it has been clearly established, that the Raja has for years carried on an irregular and unwarranted intercourse with the Portuguese Authorities at Goa, that he had intrigued with Appasaheb, the ex-Raja of Nagpore; and that he has countenanced and supported attempts to seduce from their allegiance certain native soldiers in the service of the British Government."

The Governor stated further three modes of dealing with the case of the Raja : the first, by

subjecting the Raja to a formal trial, the second, by at once commencing hostile operations and taking possession of his territories, the third and last, by remonstrance, the granting of an amnesty for past offences, and the exercising of such demency as may give rise to better feelings and future amendment.

Sir James Carnac chosed the last mode of settlement and had three interviews with the Raja at Satara on 23rd, 24th and 26th of August 1839. The first interview took place at the Satara Residency on the 23rd August 1839. At this interview the other two charges were brought against him,[76] and told that they had been proved against him. The Raja knew nothing about these two additional changes until that date.

In that interview, the Raja repeatedly declared that he had committed no breach of alliance. "When I had concluded (says the Honourable Governor), he (the Rajah) asserted that the accusations against him originated in the intrigues of his enemies, that as long as the British Government entertained the idea that he had cherished hostile designs, he could agree to nothing, but this idea being removed, he would agree to anything I proposed; that he would consent to anything, except to abandon his religion, or to acknowledge that he had been our enemy; that

he would receive any conditions, reply to them and vindicate his conduct generally."[77] During the progress of his (the Raja's) interviews with the Governor and the Resident, the Raja was distinctly informed that the consequence of his refusal to agree to the terms proposed would be the forfeiture of his throne.

The conditions on which amnesty was to be granted to the Raja were embodied in the following memorandum[78] which the Raja was required to sign.

"Information having been received by the British Government - that your Highness, misled by evil advisers, had in breach of the treaty which placed you on the throne entered into communications hostile to the British Government an inquiry into these accusations was considered indispensable. This inquiry has satisfied the British Government that your Highness had exposed yourself to the sacrifice of its alliance and protection. Nevertheless, moved by considerations of clemency towards your Highness and your family, the British Government has resolved entirely to overlook what has passed on the following conditions, namely,

"First that your Highness binds yourself strictly, and in good faith to act up literally to all the articles of the treaty of the 25th September 1819, and especially to the second article of that

treaty which is as follows:

"The Raja, for himself and for his heirs and successors engages to hold the territory in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British agent at his Highness's court."

"Second, that your Highness binds yourself to pay your brother Appasahib Maharaj whatever allowances he has heretofore received, and to put him in possession of all his private property; and should any dispute arise on this subject, the same is to be referred to the Resident for adjustment. Appasahib Maharaj is also to be permitted to reside at any place he himself may choose, under the protection of the British Government."

"Third, that Bulwantrao Chitnavees be dismissed from your Highness's counsels, and not permitted to reside within your Highness's territory without the sanction of the British Government."

"Fourth, the persons whose names are inserted in the separate list having been guaranteed by the British Government, in person, property and allowances of every descriptions, as the same stood in July 1836, this guarantee is to be binding on your Highness and all complaints against them are to be referred to the Resident should it appear necessary hereafter to the

British Government to add the names of any other persons to this list, the same guarantee is to be extended to them, and it is to be acted upon in good faith by your Highness in any manner that may be pointed out by the British Government. All complaints against these persons are also to be referred to the British Resident for his adjustment."

"The above are all the terms to be agreed to by your Highness and these conditions are to be considered as supplemental to the treaty of the 25th September 1819, and to be signed and sealed as such by your Highness; and while it is announced to your Highness that there can be no modification in these terms, as your Highness's sincere well-wisher the British Government offers them in the confidence that your Highness's penetration will recognise their moderation and the expediency of a promot acquiescence. It is confidently expected also that the clemency of the British Government in preserving your state (raj) will be duly appreciated by your Highness as it cannot fail to be by the general voice of this country, and induce your Highness for the future, scrupulously to maintain the relations of friendship and mutual confidence, by acting upto the provisions and principles of the Treaty."[79]

Pratapsinha could not however consent to

retain his sovereignty at the expense of his honour, convinced of his innocence and of his ability to demonstrate that innocence, before any equitable tribunal, he could not agree to terms based upon the assumption of his guilt and by so doing made himself a party to his own degradation. Spurning the condition upon which alone he was permitted to retain his sovereignty and resolved to preserve his honour and integrity, even at the expense of everything. On the 5th September 1839, he was dethroned, banished and stripped of his private property.

On the same day (5th September 1839) a proclamation was issued by the Resident, i.e. Col. Ovans under the authority of the Governor of Bombay, in the Marathi language. In the seventh paragraph of the proclamation it was notified to all the people of India that "the British Government, however, having no views of advantage and aggrandizement has resolved to invest the brother and next in succession to the Raja with the sovereignty of the Satara State, according to the limits fixed by the treaty of the 25th of September 1819. He is therefore hereby declared Raja of Sattara, under the title of Shreemunt Maharaj Shahajee Raja Chuttraputtee of Sattara, and all persons residing within his territory are hereby required to render to him allegiance."[80]

After his dethronement the Raja with his family remained three months (from 5th September to 7th December) at Neemb, a village, few miles away from Satara, till he was permitted to proceed to Benares. He set out with his family, relatives and followers under the political charge of Lieutenant Cristall on the 7th December 1839 and reached Benares on the 16th April 1840. Lie. Cristall was designated as Agent to the Ex-Raja and was commissioned to accompany him till he reached Benares. He was to keep the Government informed by constant communications of the Ex-Raja's progress on his journey.[81]

The Ex-Raja was accompanied to Benares by his relatives and followers and the military escort amounted to 2,700 persons and 1,353 animals, of which 500 were horses and ponies and 600 bullocks.[82] With the exception of the death of the Ex-Raja's cousin Balla-saheb Senapati (Balwantrao Bhosle), there were no untoward incidents of any kind.[83] From the day of his arrival at Benares till the day of his death there, he was engaged in a struggle, in order to clear the charges made against him. Monthly allowance of Rs. 10,000 was granted to Pratapsinha. Major Carpenter, an English officer was appointed to take care of the Ex-Raja at Benares.

On the 25th January 1847, Pratapsinha adopted

the son of Balwantrao Senapati and named him as Durgasing alias Tatyaba Raje. Shortly, after Pratapsinha's dethronement and exile insurrections broke out in Satara and its neighbourhood, the most serious was the capture of Badami by the lead by Arabs. Col. Ovans immediately traced it to the adherents of the Ex-Raja, but there was no direct evidence to implicate the Ex-Raja.

Appasaheb, Pratapsinha's brother succeeded to the throne of Satara on the 5th September 1839. On his accession to the throne, he took the title of Raja Shahaji. On the eve of his accession, on the 4th September 1839, a fresh treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the East India Company and Raja Shahaji was concluded at Satara by Lt.Col. Ovans, Resident at Satara, on the part of the East India Company and by Yashwantrao Trimbak on the part of Raja Shahaji by virtue of full powers from their respective Governments. This supplemental treaty consisted the following four Articles.

<u>Article 1</u>

"All articles of the treaty of Satara dated the 25th of September 1819 which are not abrogated or modified by the present supplemental treaty, are hereby confirmed."

Article 2

"It is hereby explicitly declared, that the Raja has no present or prospective title or claim to any territory situated beyond the boundaries of the Sattara State as the same are laid down in the schedule dated the 29th of March 1826 annexed to the aforesaid treaty as follows : The frontier extend from the Kisna and Wurna on the south to the Neera and Beema on the north and from the western Ghats or Siyadree hills on the west to the districts of Panderpoor and Beejapoor on the east."

Article 3

"In modification of Article VII of the aforesaid treaty, and to obviate future disputes, the Jagheerdars herein named viz.,

1) The Raja of Akulcot
2) The Punt Sacheo
3) The Punt Prittyniddy
4) The Diffley
5) The Nimbalkur
6) Shik Meeura Waeekar

are placed under the direct management and control of the British Government, their contingents and pecuniary payments on the scale fixed in the time

of captain Grant being reserved to the Raja."

Article 4

"The Raja binds himself to pay through the British Government, from the Sattara revenues, such annual allowance as may be considered proper by the British Government for the maintenance and support of his brother Maharaj Purtab Sheeaw the late Raja and his family."[84] Thus the main thing of the treaty was, Shahaji was deprived of all control over the jagirdars.

The installation ceremony of the new Raja took place on the 18th November 1839, in the presence of James Rivet Carnac. His revenue for 1841-42 was Rs. 13,86,800 while the expenditure amounted to Rs. 13,98,800 the excess therefore of charges over receipts was Rs. 12,000.

Shahaji was a man of low morals and weak character. The only person, who spoke well of Shahaji's character was Charles Ovans, the Resident : "Let us now turn to the character of his successor, on whom the grossest abuse is unsparingly lavished by the partisans of the Ex-Raja both in England and in this country. I have had the best opportunities of knowing this prince, and I may safely bear witness to his sobriety temperance and good disposition."[85]

Who were the partisans of the Ex-Raja? Residents like James Grant and John Briggs. Grant, when he first met Shahaji, wrote of his impression about Shahaji : "The younger brother was called Sayajee or Appasahib. He was an obstinate and ill disposed lad with very low, vicious habits, which in spite of all admonitions of the Raja could not be improved or got the better of." Of Shahaji, Briggs said, that he was "the most licentious of the native princes of India ... This is on record."[86]

Shahaji's brief period of seven years on the throne of Satara, though colourless was of peace and tranquility. He did all that the Resident told him to do. Hence the administrative reports submitted yearly are of constant praise of Shahaji's Government. He was congratulated for his mild administration, the acceptance of all reforms and constant activity in the department of public works. The building activity of the last reign was carried on by Shahaji and quite a few work of public utility were constructed. Besides the progress of public works, he had introduced reforms in other directions also. All this was done at the instance of the British Government.

The Raja had placed transit duties on the same footing as they were in other British territories. This with the improvement of roads and construction

of bridges, improved internal trade of the country. The Bombay Government was pleased at the efforts made in Satara to introduce the company's rupee. Gradually the chandori rupee was to be replaced and Ovans wrote, that he was happy to report "that the present market value of the company's rupee is 4 1/2 per cent above that of the chandor rupees."[87]

In March, 1848 Shahaji became seriously ill. For some time, he had taken under his protection, a boy of 'obscure birth',[88] upon whom he conferred the name of Balwantrao Bhosle. Raja Shahaji during his illness expressed a hope to Bartle Frere, the Resident, that any son adopted by the Ex-Raja should not be recognised by the British Government, and stated that he wished to obtain permission to adopt a son himself, but the Resident informed him that this could only be given by the superior authority. Frere refused to accept a boy of so low a birth as Shahaji's successor. Shahaji, therefore said, that if his condition still worsened, he would adopt the boy and trust British generosity to recognise the adoption. His condition worsened on 5th April 1848 and Frere who was then in Mahabaleshwar, had to be sent forth, but in the mean-time Shahaji, now on his death-bed, called the civil surgeon, Dr. Murray and dictated in Marathi which Murray took down in English, a memorandum of adoption

which designated Balwantrao as Venkoji Raje.[89] The Raja died on the same day, the 5th April 1848. Frere who reached Satara about 10 O'clock at night, convened a meeting of all persons who mattered in the royal household. He told them that the decision of the supreme Government, regarding the adoption and succession, must be awaited.

After full deliberation on the part of the Home and Indian Governments, an intimation was transmitted to the Resident, under date the 1st May 1849, that it had been resolved that the Satara Territory had, by failure of heirs, lapsed to the power which bestowed it; that it should be annexed to the British dominions, and be managed by a commissioner, who should exercise, subject to Government, the whole civil authority of the state. Mr. Frere was appointed commissioner and three assistants were added to his establishment, one of whom was to conduct the judicial duties.

The commissioner was instructed to carry on the business of the state in all its branches, until further orders, with the existing establishments, all of whom were to be informed that they had become the servants and were in the pay of the British Government. It was resolved that the military force should be remodelled and reduced, and generally

applied towards police purpose, and that the machinery and system of police, which appeared to work well, should be retained.

The commissioner, Mr. Frere, reported to government on the 6th June following, that the notification of the annexation of the lapsed territory of Satara to the British Empire, which he had publicly issued under the instructions of Government, had been received with loyalty but with feelings of despondency, both by the subjects and servants of Raja Shahaji.

Raja Shahaji had four wives. The first wife named, Gajarabai, was the sister of Mudhoji Raje Mahadik. She died in 1834. The second wife, named Sagunabai, was the daughter of Tanaji Raje Shirke. The third wife named Jeejabai was the daughter of Laxmanji Raje Shirke. The fourth wife, Saibai alias Bayasaheb was the daughter of Kirtising Raje Shirke.[90]

The final decision of Government in regard to the provision to be assigned to the family of Raja Shahaji was communicated to his three wives, but they rejected the terms offered to them. His three wives try to stipulate, for more liberal allowances than had been offered to them.

In acceding to every reasonable request calculated to add to the comfort or to support the

dignity of the wives, the British Government firmly declined to acquise in the demands of these ladies : On their withdrawing those demands, a final and satisfactory arrangement of their affairs was at length effected in December 1851.[91]

Their lands and allowances and the private property left by Raja Shahaji, valued at upwards of Rs. 15,00,000, were restored, and distributed among them in the proportions fixed on by Government, and separate apartments in the palace were assigned to each of them, and to their adopted son Venkoji Raje. Besides a large amount of property, consisting of jewels, furniture, equipages and co., the three wives gave up to Venkoji Raje the whole of their hereditary lands and villages yielding a net revenue of upwards of Rs. 20,000 a year, and added to it portions of their own allowances, which raised his income to more than Rs. 60,000 a year.[92]

The arrangements made (Dec. 1851) may thus be summed up.[93] The late Raja's private debts amounting to Rs. 2,35,450, and the expenses attending his visit to Kolhapur remaining unpaid, amounting to a further sum of Rs. 58,749, were discharged by advances from the public treasury. A balance of Rs. 25,000, remaining in the hands of the architect of the new

palace, was assigned for the improvement of the aqueduct built by Shahu, Raja of Satara, and a further balance of Rs. 35,860-11-9, composed chiefly of savings out of the pay to late Raja's cavalry, was also devoted to public works.

The life allowance of Rs. 1,00,000 a year settled by the British Government on the three wives of the late Raja's were assigned to them in the following proportions:

To Sagunabai	Rs. 45,000
To Jeejabai	Rs. 30,000
To Saibai alias Bayasaheb	Rs. 25,000

The private moveable and immovable property, already specified, was unreservedly given up by Government to his three wives; and they were allowed to retain for life possession of the old and new palaces; but these were declared to be, with all other public buildings, the property of Government. Balwantrao Bhosle the boy whom the late Raja had taken under his protection, was allowed to retain possession of property, worth about Rs. 1,42,471, that had been given to him and in deference to the wishes of the late Raja a further allowance of Rs. 600 per month was settled on him.

Raja Pratapsinha died at Benares on the 14th October 1847, a few months before the decease of his

brother and successor. After his death, Rajasbai the third wife[94] of him was allowed pension of Rs. 1,200 per month and was also accommodated with a grant of Rs. 12,000 to defray the expenses of her journey from Benares to Satara and was permitted to reside there.

Durgasing, adopted son of the Ex-Raja, was allowed pension of Rs. 1,200 per month.[95]

To Gojrabai saheb, the daughter and only child left by the Ex-Raja was also assigned a pension of Rs. 1,200 per month with remainder of Rs. 1,000 a month to her male heirs. On her leaving Benares for Satara in October, 1848, the Government of India granted her the sum of Rs. 20,000 to meet the expenses of her journey, several month's arrears amounting to Rs. 9,000, on account of herself and her followers. Gojrabai saheb died on the 30th August 1853, when Government granted to her family the sum of Rs. 5,000 to defray the expenses attending the performance of her funeral rites.[96]

Gojrabai saheb left behind her husband, Yeshwantrao Guzar popularly known as Nanasaheb and two children, a son nearly four years old, named after his grandfather Pratapsinha and the other a daughter, nearly twelve years of age named Tanibai. Gojrabai saheb left no property, but on the contrary, Rs. 14,000 of debt.

An allowance of Rs. 100 per month had been assigned for the support of the family of the late Muzfar Jung, illegitimate son of Ramachandra or Bhausaheb, second brother of the late Raja's of Satara, who died without heir in 1821.

The whole of the establishments, civil and military of the late Government, was remodelled and reduced to the scale of that an ordinary collectorate.

Thus the Maratha power which was established and consolidated by Shivaji the Great in the 17th century, preserved by his successors by giving a stubborn resistance to the mighty Mughal army, and extended by the Peshwas, directly or indirectly to all the corners of this sub-continent in the 18th century came to an inglorious and in 1849; and became an integral part of the British power.

Notes

1. Henry T.. Prinsep, History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the administration of Mrquess of Hastings (1813-1823),(London,1825), pp. 177-178, 385.

2. Kenneth Ballhatchet, Social policy and social change in Western India, 1817-1830, (London, 1957), pp. 19-20.

3. PRC xiii, GG-ME, 15.12.1817, p. 271, see also SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818.

4. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818.

5. 'बाजीराव याणी काही येक विद्या सिको दिली नाही', Roj.1, 15.7.1819, p. 103.

6. 'माहाराज राज्याचे खावंद. आपले राज्य संभाळावे व आम्हास आनकुल आसावे'.
PK, HF, Marathi, R.No. 4, p. 3.

7. PK, HF, Marathi R.No. 4, pp. 3-4.

8. Ibid.

9. 'लढाअी बाजीराव घेता याप्रा सारे चिटणीस याणी माहूली मुकामाहून जाअुन अिलपिस्तन साहेबास मार पुण्यास कळवीला की बाजीराव तुम्हासी लढाअी करतील हे खास. अता पूर्वीचि बोलण्याचे स्मरण असावे'.
Ibid, p. 3.

10. '.... व जामदार याज बरोबर अिलपिस्तन साहेबानी सांगीतले की माहाराज बाजीराव सुध्दा हिंदुस्थानात जलद जाणार असे आम्ही अैकिले. याजकरिता तुम्ही जाअुन माहाराजास सांगावे की तुम्ही जाअु नये. रात्रौ छापा घालता त्या गडबडीत यावे आगर लस्करात कसेही यावे रात्री.....'
Ibid, pp. 3-4.

11. 'थेाडे दिवसात नरसू जामदार सेालापूर मुकामी येअून अिलपिस्तन साहेबाचा निरेाप अिकडे कळविला त्याजवरून रात्रीस छाप्यात पैनाजेत जाण्याचा मातबर चालीस नीट नाही या करिता दिवसास छापा यावा म्हणजे त्यात आम्ही जाअू ही सूचना नरसू जामदार याणे आक्लूज मुकामी जरनेल स्मित साहेबास केला.'

Ibid, p. 4.

12. Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 17.

13. PRC xiii, ME-GG, 7.3.1818, p. 313.

14. Ibid, Proclamation, 11.2.1818, pp. 299-302.

15. Ibid, pp 301-302.

16. This incident is described in detail in 'Raja Pratapsinhachya Shake 1739-40 madhil halchali', in V. L. Bhave (Ed.), Marathi Daftar, R.2, (Thane, Shake 1844), pp. 27-29.

17. PRC xiii, General Smith - ME, 21.2.1818, p. 309.

18. V. L. Bhave. (Ed.), op.cit., p. 31.

19. Ibid, p. 32, See also PK, HF, Marathi, R.4, p. 6.

20. V. L. Bhave (Ed), op.cit., pp. 37-38.

21. Ibid, See also PRC xiii, ME-GG, 5.3.1818, p. 312.

22. PRC xiii, ME-GG, 5.3.1818, p. 312.

23. V. L. Bhave (Ed.), op.cit., p. 31.

24. PK, HF, Marathi R.No.4, p. 7.

25. DCIS, R.No. 55, F2:1, V. L. Bhave in Marathi Daftar, R.2, p. 45 has given the details of the Raja's route. It was the following:

	Date of arrival
Karkamb	21.2.1818
Tembhurni	23.2.1818
Hingangaon	24.2.1818
Wadihasurni	26.2.1818
Baramati	27.2.1818
Jalgaon	28.2.1818
Morgaon	2.3.1818
Belsar	4.3.1818
Vir	6.3.1818
Manki	9.3.1818
Jejuri	10.3.1818
Purandhar (near Bhivri)	11.3.1818
Kothale	20.3.1818
Valhe	21.3.1818
Pandegaon	22.3.1818
Tambwe	23.3.1818
Chandan, Wandan	24.3.1818
Pachwad	26.3.1818
Satara (near Variye)	29.3.1818
Medhe (near Tambi)	30.3.1818
Wasota (near Tambi)	3.4.1818
Karanja at Satara	10.4.1818

26. V. L. Bhave (Ed.), op.cit.,pp. 33-55.

27. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 18.

28. V. L. Bhave (Ed.), op.cit., p. 55.

29. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 19.

30. PRC xiii, ME-GG, 9.5.1818, p. 347.

31. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 19.

32. V. L. Bhave (Ed.), op.cit., p. 55.

33. Ibid, pp. 60-62.

34. Ibid.

35. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818, See also PRC xiii, GG-ME, 14.7.1818,p. 394 follows, p. 418 follows.

36. Kenneth Ballhatchet, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 19.

37. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, Resources and Co.', <u>BGR (N.S.) XLI</u> (1857), p. 167.

38. SRC 5/2:47, ME.JG, 25.8.1819.

39. Ibid.

40. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 30.9.1819.

41. <u>Sagunabai saheb's appeal to Queen Victoria</u>, (Bombay 1874), extract No. 16, pp. 19-35.

42. Ibid, pp. 19-20.

43. HF, Marathi, R.4.

44. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 30.9.1819.

45. Ibid.

46. D. B. Parasnis, <u>Mahabaleshwar</u> (Bombay, 1916), pp. 38-39.

47. Kenneth Ballhatchet, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 238.

48. WC-F. Warden, 24.4.1821, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>Raja Pratapsinh of Satara 1818-1839</u> (Poona, 1970), p. 95.

49. Raja Pratapsinha had a great love and admiration of Elphinstone. He actually wanted Elphinstone to preside over the ceremony of handing over the internal administration to him. But Elphinstone who at that time became the Governor of Bombay was busy with other works.Thus Chaplin was appointed as the chief guest of the ceremony.

50. WC-F. Warden, 24.5.1822, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 95.

51. Roj. 5, 5.4.1822, p. 175.

52. WC-F. Warden, 24.4.1821, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 95, See also G. S. Sardesai (Ed.), SPD, Papers referring to Pratapsinh, Raja of Satara, Vol. 42, (Bombay, 1934), p.49.

53. D. B. Parasnis, op.cit., p. 62.

54. B. D. Basu, Story of Satara, (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 46-47.

55. Rignaid Heber, Narrative of a journey through the upper province of India from Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1825, on account of a journey to Madras and the southern provinces, 1826, Vol.2 (London, 1844), p. 142.

56. PP-2, p. 1267.

57. W. C. Nicholsen, Statement of the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara, p. 2.

58. PP-2, p. 1267.

59. Ibid, p. 1268.

60. Ibid, p. 1307.

61. Ibid, p. 1249.

62. Ibid.

63. PP-1, p. 253.

64. Raja Pratapsinha - Henry Hardings, GG, printed by Alex Munro for Rango Bapuji - 1845 (Compiled in collection of official records of the deposed Raja of Satara).

65. PP-1, p. 572.

66. Ibid, p. 369.

67. Basu in his book 'Story of Satara' has written that Rango Bapuji left Bombay on 12.9.1839 and reached England at the end of that year. But K. S. Thakare has given 30th June as the date of reaching at London which it seems more correct.

68. PP-1, p. 86.

69. Ibid, p. 205.

70. Ibid, p. 229.

71. Ibid, p. 232.

72. Ibid, p. 234.

73. Ibid, Minute of Sir John Forbes, p. 1261.

74. Ibid, p. 253.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid, pp. 265-268.

78. 'Case of the Raja of the Sattara, Dissent of the Late John Forbes, delivered at a court of directors of East India Company, held on

Wednesday, 8.4.1840,pp. 9-14 (Collection of official records of the deposed Raja of Satara.).

79. Ibid.

80. Official papers appertaining to the case of the dethroned Raja of Satara (London,1843) pp. 97-100 (Collection of official records of the deposed Raja of Satara). For details of deposition see Appendix A.

81. Cristall-Ovans, 12.3.1840, refer to in R.D. Choksey, Raja Shahji of Satara 1839-1848 (Poona, 1974), pp. 38-39. G. S. Sardesai in Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag-3 (Bombay, 1932) has given the date of arrival at Benares as 25th March 1840.

Route of the Ex-Raja of Satara to Benares and probable date of arrival at each station was as following:

"From Satara to	Probable date of arrival at each station
Ahmednuggur	20.12.1839
Malegaon	3.1.1840
Dhoolia	4.1.1840
Asserghur	21.1.1840
Mhow	5.2.1840
Bhopal	21.2.1840
Sagur	8.3.1840
Rewa	27.3.1840
Mirzapoor	12.4.1840
Benares	16.4.1840 "

82. Cristall-Fraser, 8.3.1840, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 36. (The amount of grass consumed daily was 7,000 maunds and wheat, flour, rice, pulses, gram etc. went in khandies and maunds per day).

83. See Appendix A.

84. Sagunabai Saheb's appeal to Queen Victoria, extract No. 17, pp. 36-40. See also official papers appertaining to the case of the dethroned Raja of Satara, pp. 116-117 (Collection of official records of the deposed Raja of Satara).

85. R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 2.

86. Ibid, pp. 2-3.

87. R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 25.

88. Ibid, p. 29.

89. He belonged to the family of Shedgaon descended from one of the seven sons of Vithoji.

90. V. G. Bhide, Satarche Shrimant Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Yance Wauishacha va Pratinidhi ani Ashta Pradhanancha Itihas, (Bhor, 1866), pp. 112-113.

91. T. Ogilvy, 'Memoir on the Satara territory', 1.5.1854, BGR (N.S.), XLI (1857), p. 6.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. V. G. Bhide, _op.cit._, pp. 95-96. Raja Pratapsinha had three wives. His first wife named Laxmibai, belonged to Mohite family. She died in 1821. The second wife, who was the younger sister of the first wife, was also named Laxmibai. She died at Benares. The third wife was named Rajasbai.

95. T. Ogilvy, 'Memoir on the Satara territory', 1.5.1854, _BGR (N.S.), XLI_ (1857), p. 7.

96. Ibid.

Raja Pratapsinha was deposed on 5th September 1839. From 1836 onwards till 1839 there were conspiracies to effect the Raja's ruin prosecuted with almost superhuman ingenuity until the utter destruction of the Raja.

With the documents available both in Marathi and English it is now clear that the Bombay Government with the help of the brahmin group headed by Balaji Narayan Natu produced such evidence which would sustain the charges levelled against the Raja leading his deposition.

The question of the Raja and his Jagirdars is mainly responsible for all the misfortune which subsequently befell the Raja. It grew out of the unhappy misunderstanding that arose upon this question. With certain modifications the court of directors accepted the Raja's contentions regarding the question of Jagirdars. The Resident at Satara requested the Bombay Government to send that portion of the Raja which was relevant for his perusal. The responsibility of withholding this despatch rested with

Robert Grant, who had just resumed the charge of Governor of Bombay. The Raja's conduct and attitude placed him at variance with the authorities in Bombay. The story of the manipulated charges, grave and petty against the Raja, started taking shape.

The question of the jagirs now appears to have lost its importance. Yet a part of the jagir of the Pant Sachiv taken by the Company, was a matter under dispute and the Raja was kept hanging on the issue by both Lord Clare and his successor Robert Grant. By 13th September, 1836, the Bombay Government was writing through its home despatches to convict the Raja of treason. It was in October 1836 that Grant refused to accept the customary dress sent by the Raja at the Dasara festival which naturally made the Raja suspicious of the Governor's hostile attitude. The reason for this resentment seems to be the preparation by the Raja to present his case to the Home authorities, first with the aid of his English friend Dr. Milne and then by sending Sayyad Mir Afzal Ali as his emissary to England. When the Resident came to know about it he sounded a note of warning to the Raja that this would cost him his throne if he made any effort to approach the authorities in England. The Raja was told that this attitude was a direct infringement of the 5th Article of the treaty of 1819.

On the 13th May 1837 the Resident reported that His Highness had discontinued 'friendly and familiar intercourse with the Resident'. After ten months the Raja's right to contact the Home authorities was acknowledged. Sir Robert Grant now found himself in a difficult situation. The charges of treason and conspiracy remained the only tools in the hands of Sir Grant and his friends to save themselves from exposure to the authorities at Home.

The part of the minute which pointed out the complicity of the Raja in the conspiracy Robert Grant betrays his fear of being exposed on the question of the Jagirdars. He writes, "when what has transpired at Sattara has been communicated ... his embassy, should it reaches England, will be rejected."[1] This is enough to show that Robert Grant was extremely anxious to implicate the Raja in the charges of a very grave nature which would throw into shade the question of the Jagirdars.

The Raja and his Diwan, Govindrao Viththal were accused of conspiring to corrupt two native soldiers named Shivgulam Sing and Gulzar Mishra of the 23rd Regiment, then quarted in Satara. Mr. Thompson, who supported the Raja's innocence in the court of directors at London, criminated Sir Robert Grant and Charles Ovans, the Resident at Satara as

the villians of the piece. He challenged Ovans to accuse him of libel or stand a trial. Ovans refused to do either on the ground that as a public servant he could not accept that challenge. Lodwick in a private letter assured Sir Robert Grant of the Raja's innocence. Yet the Governor was determined to obtain through the soldiers incriminating evidence to involve the Raja. And all this was based on the statement of the two soldiers who had already admitted that they had prejudiced against the Raja.[2]

Govindrao Viththal, the Raja's Diwan was thrown into prison and was subjected to torture in solitary confinement in Ahmednagar fort. Ovans even approached the aged mother of the Diwan, Girijabai and gave promises to the lady, that her son would be released if he gave the names of the parties implicated in the conspiracy. The lady asked a trusted brahmin, Krishnaji Bhide, to draft a petition to the Resident. But Krishnaji fell into the hands of Balaji Natu, who bribed Krishnaji to betray the ladies notes and through him forged in the lady's name a false petition, implicating innocent people.

Balaji Pant Natu and his brahmin friends, were mainly responsible for the ruin of the Raja. They concocted evidence from various people by bribing them and supplied it to the Resident.

Balaji Pant Natu and Balaji Kashi Kibe a clerk at the office of Resident bribed some karkuns of the treasury and got written false letters from them relating to the first charge of the Raja. The seal which was essential for these letters was stolen from the treasury.[3] Karkuns who wrote false letters were Janu Bhandari, Vishwanath Rangrao, Haibatrao Shikarkhane, Karkun Anna Sindkar, Bapuji Anandrao.[4] Balaji Pant Natu offered them Rs. 50,000 for this work.[5] Ovans also told these karkuns that they would be rewarded if they produced false letters.

Bhau Lele also joined hands with Balaji Pant Natu. Cap. Durack, who was the staff officer at the Resident's office, promised rewards to Bhau Lele if he procured certain information regarding the Raja's attempts to corrupt the two soldiers of the native infantry.[6] Bhau Lele wrote many false letters in the name of the Raja to the bankers and other respectable people named Bapuji Anandrao Chitnis, Haibatrao Tophkhane and Bajirao II to help the Raja against the British.[7]

Balaji Pant Natu also got written false accounts from one banker at Satara. The accounts contained that the Raja had ordered that such and such amount of money should be given to some men for overthrowing the power of the British.[8]

Viththal Sakharam Parasnis and Kashi Shivram Bendre also joined Natu in bringing the Raja's destruction at an early date. They acknowledged many false things to Ovans regarding the Raja.[9] Gangadhar Patwardhan, karkun of Pratinidhi was also joined Natu.

The second charge against the Raja was that he 'for years carried on an irregular and unwarranted intercourse with the Portuguese authorities at Goa', and employed Nago Deorao to approach the Governor of Goa.

Swami Sankeshwar, his agent for collecting benevolences named Nago Deorao and Charles Ovans were the originators of the Goa conspiracy. Baloba Kelkar also helped them by providing false evidence to Ovans.

Two sets of seals and a bundle of papers containing number of false letters produced in evidence against the Raja to prove his treasonable conduct.

Baloba Kelkar, brother-in-law of Nago Deorao was a member of a gang of thieves, set out to rob the British treasury at Vengurla was nearly caught but escaped. It was he, who, while in hiding, sent a word of a packed of important papers in his possession to Ovans. These were the papers, under the forged seals, which Baloba sold to Ovans for Rs. 400 and also procured his pardon. In these bundle of papers,

purported to be original were letters from the Raja of Satara to Don Manuel, the Portuguese Governor of Goa. Seven of the letters purported to be written by the Raja were from the pen of one Moro Joshi, one of the robbers, as well as three more in the name of Don Manuel. How these gang robbers came in possession of these seals? Nago Deorao had authority from the Swami to make seals. And thus the gang robbers manufactured them in the village of Pendey in the southern Konkan. On close examination it was proved that they were not the Raja's seals and at that nor of any other Raja. The seals bore this inscription : "Sadasew Bajee Row, the prime minister of Raja Shahoo, king of men". So great was the haste that having read the word Raja it was immediately pronounced those of the living prince, though his name was Pratapsinha and not Shahu. There never was any prime minister of either Shahu or of any Satara Raja of that name. It was, therefore, a clear forgery.

The Raja was also accused of being in contact with the Ex-Raja of Nagpur and had intrigued with him. Aba Mahadik and Yeloji Mohite supplied false letters of Mudhoji Bhosle written to Pratapsinha, to the Resident.[10]

In 1838, Balaji Pant Natu, Narahar Raghunath Paradkar, Yashwantrao faujdar succeeded in winning

Appasaheb, the Raja's brother to their side. Appasaheb took the share of his property and began to live near the Resident's bungalow.

Why these brahmins and others turned against Pratapsinha? One obvious reason seems to be that right from Balaji Pant Natu to Yeloji Mohite every one had reason to be displeased with the Raja. For example Swami of Sankeshwar in whose possession the seals of the Goa conspiracy were found, had reason to be displeased with the Raja. The Swami was known to collect contributions and the Raja had made it known that people were at liberty to give or withhold. This gave the Swami much annoyance. It occurred in 1817; and from that time this fancied insult rankled in the heart of the Swami. Balaji Pant Natu at one time desired to be the Raja's Diwan. But Pratapsinha did not want Balaji as his Diwan. Instead of giving it to Natu he gave it to Viththal Ballal Mahajani. Pratapsinha, therefore, had incurred Natu's displeasure and animosity. Because of the 'Gramanyas' (caste disputes), in which Pratapsinha supported the Prabhus, the hatred and animosity developed in the minds of the brahmins. Pratapsinha on the other hand was also against the chitpavanas. In the Rojnishis of Pratapsinha one can often come across references of the Raja's fear of brahmin animosity. He feared that one day they would ruin him. [11]

Constitutional Agitation

What Pratapsinha from very beginning demanded was a fair trial of the charges against him. When Pratapsinha lost all hopes from the Bombay Government, he sent his agents to England. Sayyad Mir Afzal Ali was sent in 1838. He was followed by Yashwantrao Raje Shirke, Chitkoji Surve, Bhagwantrao Viththal on 19th March 1839. Rango Bapuji was furnished with Rs. 50,000 and reached England on 30th June 1840. These agents were ill treated by the Government of Bombay as well as by the authorities of the East India Company in England. The directors of the East India Company refused to recognise them and sent them back without giving them an opportunity to present their case. Pratapsinha after his dethronment and exile to Benares was unable to remit money regularly to his agents in England. Consequently the agents in England were subjected to great strains and they had to borrow money from their English acquaintances for their maintenance. Reduced to such position they had no other alternative but to return. They were obliged to appeal to the court of directors to advance them money to liquidate their debts in England and enable them to return home. The court agreed to advance them sufficient funds and to afford them the means of departure from England. They left England

on 1st July 1841. But one of them, Rango Bapuji Gupte had proceeded as far as Malta, when he received orders from his master, Raja Pratapsinha the Ex-Raja of Satara, to return to England and pursue his claims to the Satara throne. In January 1842 he returned to England. From the date of his return to England in January 1842 down to the day of his departure for India in 1853, for a period of twelve years he was engaged in a struggle in which he did not succeeded.

Rango Bapuji was untiring in his exertions, for getting justice. When he reached England in January 1842 he presented a letter to the court of directors of the East India Company, which the Ex-Raja had addressed to the court of directors. But the court of directors were not moved by the appeal made by Raja in the letter. They also did not recognise Rungo Bapuji as his agent. Although Rango Bapuji was not recognised as agent of the Ex-Raja and although his communications to the authorities of the company were never attended to yet he attended meetings of the court of directors and proprietors held at India House and it seems that he was allowed to address these meetings. He did not know English sufficiently well to speak in that language; so he addressed them in Marathi. At the special general court held at the India House on 8th of February 1843,

Rango Bapuji spoke for his master. He submitted a statement to the special general court on 26th May 1847 and narrated all the wrongs and injuries that had been inflicted on his deposed sovereign.

With the help of some British friends he carried on agitation in England. He was allowed two thousand rupees a month for his expenses in England and this amount was spent in publishing periodicals and other methods of carrying on agitation in England. He got all the past resident at the court of Satara like John Briggs, A. Robertson who were interested in the Raja's fate and more over secured Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Joseph Hume to plead the Raja's cause before the British public and also the court of directors and the House of Commons.

As a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Joseph Hume left no stone unturned to get justice. With this object in view, he moved over and over again for the production and publication of the papers relating to the Raja of Satara. At last he succeeded. In conformity with a resolution of the general court of proprietors of East India stock of 17th June 1840 papers respecting the case of the Raja of Satara were printed for the use of the proprietors of the East India Company. The publication of the Satara

papers showed in their hideous nakedness the vile deeds of the notorious Col. Charles Ovans.

George Thompson came to India in 1843. He had two interviews with the Ex-Raja of Satara at Benares, on the 16th of June and 24th of November 1843.

At a meeting of the court of directors held in August 1845, George Thompson made a speech in which he demanded that inquiries should be made into the charges brought against Col. Ovans and Balaji Pant Natu. Again on 24th September 1845, 17th December 1845 before the general quarterly court of proprietors preferred his grave charges against Col. Ovans. But the directors and proprietors refused enquiry into these charges.

The Raja wrote a letter on 18th December 1844, to the Governor General Lord Hardinge which is a master piece of defence. But no notice of it was taken, no reply of it was given and it was transmitted to the court of directors on the 8th December 1847 two months after the death of the Raja.

In short the authorities of the East India Company did not recognise Rango Bapuji as the Raja's agent. They also did not listen to the reasonable prayers of George Thompson and several other friends of the Raja in England and to give a hearing to that prince in his own defence and inquire into the

grave charges brought against Col. Charles Ovans.

Thompson and Rango Bapuji were not disheartened by the ill treatment they received at the hands of those who were entrusted with Indian affairs. After the proprogation of the British parliament in August 1840, a series of meetings were held, with a view of drawing public attention to the conduct of the Indian authorities. The meetings were principally addressed by Rango Bapuji and Thompson.

The case of the deposed Raja of Satara had been several times brought before the parliament, but absorbing issues of domestic interest had prevented the full discussion of the question. John Briggs delivered a speech in parliament, supporting the Raja's innocence.

Pratapsinha died on 14th October 1847. After the Raja's death the allowance of Rango Bapuji was reduced to one thousand. The services of George Thompson had to be dispended with. The last occasion when Mr. Thompson appeared in public to urge the claims of the late Ex-Raja was on 5th July 1848 when he delivered a speech at a special general court. But there were other English friends of the late Ex-Raja who did not desert his cause to the very last, that is, till the day Rango Bapuji remained in England to prosecute the case of his deceased master. Among

these Englishmen, the names of Mr. John Sullivan and Mr. Joseph Hume must be prominently mentioned.

After the death of Shahaji, Satara State was annexed on 1st May 1849. Mr. Sullivan and Hume both argued and proved from the documents and other evidences that the Satara Raj was an independent sovereignty and not a fief of the British Government.

When it became known in England how the widow of Pratapsinha and his adopted son were ill treated by the Indian Government and the Rani had sighed away the rights of Shahu Maharaj to the Satara sovereignty, Rango Bapuji set out a strong agitation against this. He induced Mr. John Sullivan to write a letter to the president of the board of control, who bore the name of Sir John Hobhouse. John Sullivan wrote a letter on 30th October 1850. Rango Bapuji also addressed a letter to the chairman and court of directors of the East India Company under the heading "treatment of the Ranee, captive widow, and infant son of the Ex-Rajah of Satara, by the Government of India and the directors of the East India Company".

But Hobhouse had no sympathy for the Raja of Satara. His successor J. C. Herries was no better than his predecessor, and he paid no attention to the grievances of Rango Bapuji. Rango Bapuji was himself at this time in great distress in England, and so

were the Rani and the young Raja in India. So he again in November 1852 submitted a memorial to the court of directors of the East India Company on behalf of the distressed family of the Ex-Raja of Satara detained prisoners at Benares. This memorial was forwarded to the secretary, East India House by Joseph Hume and eight other proprietors together. But the reply was that they were not ready to recognise Rango Bapuji as the agent of the late Ex-Raja of Satara. Soon after the receipt of the above reply he presented a petition to both houses of Parliament. To the House of Lords the petition was presented by Lord Beaumont on February 24th 1853; and to the House of Commons by Joseph Hume on March 2nd 1853. Rango Bapuji had been fourteen years away from India urging to the East India Company, the houses of parliament and the British public to do justice to the ill-treated Raja of Satara. During his stay in England he suffered both in health and in wealth. Because of the want of funds, Rango Bapuji could no longer prolong his stay in England. Moreover, there was no hope of his obtaining any justice from the authorities in England, for his sovereign. He had several times applied to the India House for advancing him a loan to liquidate his debts and pay his passage to India. On the eve of his departure from England, he was presented with a silver plate by

his English friends. He returned to India in December 1853. The East India Company gave him £ 2,500 and a free passage.

Notes

1. R. D. Choksey, Raja Pratapsinh of Satara 1818-1839 (Poona, 1970), p. 12.
2. Pratapsinha's kaifiyat throws light on this point. British soldiers built camps in the Raja's area at Mahabaleshwar, without his permission. He informed the British about it and ordered his Diwan to destroy those camps. The soldiers were also prohibited to take water from the wells, situated in the Raja's area. The soldiers disliked it. This incident created some sort of displeasure in their minds towards the Raja. See PK, pp. 20-21.
3. See PK, pp. 40-41.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p. 42.
7. HF, Marathi R.No. 4. There are about seven letters written by Lele to various people.
8. See PK, pp. 28-29.
9. Ibid, p. 28.
10. Ibid, p. 34.
11. See Roj. 13, 23.9.1830, p. 569.

APPENDIX B

This incomplete account of Pratapsinha (<u>Kaifiyat</u>) is found in the Handwritten Ferisht, Rumal No. 4 preserved in the Pune Archives. It seems to have been prepared for its English rendering. Its author is not known, but it seems to have been compiled during the period of Col. Ovans, at Benaras.

श्री अंबा प्रसन्न
येकंदर मजकुराचा तरजमा अिंग्रजी व्हाला तो

सृष्टी अुत्पन्न जाहाल्यापासोन आमचे वडील या खानदानीचे की सूर्यवंशी जो सूर्यापासून अुत्पन्न जाहालेला राज्य करणार तक्तनीसीन आणि आमचे खानदान अुदेपूर वाल्याचे घराण्यातील. पुढे आमचे वडिल अुदेपूराहून दक्षिणेत आले. तेथे सिवाजी म्हाराज व शाहू म्हाराज पासोन आज परयंत आमचे खानदानीत राज्य केले नंतर सिवाजी म्हाराजांचे वेळेस अिंग्रजी साहेब येअून याद देअून काही कलमे ठरली. मधी मुसलमान लोकाचे व त्यांच्या लढाया व तंटे बहूत जाहाले परंतु अिंग्रजी सरकारचे व अिकडील खानदानीचे दोस्तीत बिघाड नाही. दोनी सरकार आपलाले येकरारा प्रो। चालले. सिवाजी म्हाराजाचे वेळेस याद ठरली तीच याद शाहू माहाराज याणी कायम ठेविली. पेशवे हे मराठी राज्य कोणते त-हेने जबरदस्तीने करीत होते हे सर्वास जाहीर

आहे आणि त्याणी आपला मालक म्हाराज होता त्यास कैदेत ठेवून त्याचे नावाने आपण राज्य आपले फायद्याकरिता करीत होते तो बयाण लिहिला नाही कारण त्या क(ड) चे बयानाचे येथे जरूर नाही. जे वेळेस आमचे तीर्थरूप धाकटे शाहूम्हाराज मृत्यू पावले आणि आम्हास राज्याभिषेक जाहाला त्यावेळेस आम्ही मालक सारे राज्याचे काम चालवावे, परंतु बाजीराव पेशवे हे सरकारगारीचे काम आपण पहिल्या प्रेाच करित होते. पुढे थोडे दिवसानी ग्रिंग्रजी सरकारातून ग्रिनसाफाने बोलण्या करीता कागदपत्र पाहीजेत, सबब बळवंतराव मल्हार चिटणीस यास ग्रिलफिस्तन साहेब याणी (पृ.२) बोलाऊन नेऊन बोलले की करवीरकर राजे यासी मुलखाचा तंटा बाजीराव याचा व त्याचा आहे. बाजीराव याजवर ग्रिलाज चालत नाही. त्यास जुने कागदपत्राचे बोलण्याने बाजीराव यास महकुब होग्री(ल) आणि कोल्हापूरकराचे राज्याचा फायदा होऊन फैसल होग्री असे कागदपत्र असल्यास आम्हास दाखवावे असे बोलले व सदरहू प्रेा नरसू जामदार यासी ही बोलले. त्याज वरून चिटणीसानी ग्रुतर केले की बाजीराव यासे कळल्यास आमचा प्राण राहणार नाही व कागदपत्र माहाराजांचे हुकुमाखेरीज कसे द्यावे. ग्रिलफिस्तन साहेब याणी ग्रुतर केले की तुम्हा पासी असल्यास कसेही त-हेने दाखवावे. हाली आमचे हतून बच्याव व्हावयाचा नाही. तुम्ही आपलाही बच्याव करावा त्याजवरून चिटणीस बोलले की यात आमचे खावंदाचा व आमचा फायदा कोणता. ग्रिलफिस्तन साा याणी ग्रुतर केले की माहाराज राज्याचे खावंद परंतु बाजीराव याणी लढाग्री केल्या खेरीज ग्रिलाज नाही. पुढे ग्रिंग्रजी सरकारची दोस्ती राज्याविसी माहाराजासी होऊन तुमचे कल्यावर खास होग्रील. नंतर बळवंतराव

चिटणीस याणी हिया करुन कागदपत्र दाखविले. त्याजवरून
अलपिस्तन साो याचे मना प्राो करवीरकराचा मार खरा जाहाला
आणि त्याचा फैसल जाहाला. पुढे चतरसिंग राजे आमचे तीर्थरुपाचे
भाऊ व बलवंतराव राजे भाो सेनापती मृत्यु पावले. त्यांचे बाप हे
दिलीस गेले होते तेथे त्याणी आपले वकिल लिक साहेब याजकडे पाठऊन
विचारिले की हाली बाजीराव पेशवे याणी आमचे अनमानास सातारा
येथे फार तंगी करून अिजा देत आहेत. त्यास अिंग्रजी सरकारचे व
आमचे सरकारची पूर्वी पासोन दोस्ती आहे सबब त्याजला पेशवे याणी
असे अडचणीचे प्रकार केले. (पृ.३) साहेब याणी सांगितले की तूर्त
यशवंतराव होळकर याचा तह अिंग्रजी सरकारासी आहे व बाजीराव
यासी लढाअी खेरीज बिघाड करणे हा आमचे सरकारचा दस्तूर नाही,
लढाअी जाहाल्या नंतर तुमचे मना प्राो होअील नंतर चतरसिंग राजे
देसी आले. पेसजी पेशवे यासी लढाया केल्या ते वेळेस तहच केले परंतु
सदरी मार लिहिला. हा बाजीराव यास कलल्यावरून त्याणी
गफलतीने धरून कैद केले ते कैदेतच मेले. नंतर आम्ही आमचे जुने कागद-
पत्र पाहून दिलात आणिले की अिंग्रजी सरकार मोठे व लेखाचा भरवसा
व अिनसाफी चाल व निरलोभ हे जाणोन बाजीराव पेशवे याणी जे
वेळेस माहुली मुकामी येऊन विनंती केली की माहाराज राज्याचे खावंद.
आपले राज्य संभाळावे व आम्हास आनकुल आसावे आसा बंदोबस्त
जाहाला म्हणजे कोणते ही त-हेचा प्रसंग आला तथापी न भिता सर्व
मातबर लोक मराठे व हिंदू व मुसलमान दौलतदार आनकुल राहतील
व आपली बाजी फत्ते होअील असे वारंवार बोलत होते परंतु ते न
अैकता व चतरसिंग राजे यास सोडून फौजेचे काम देऊन सदरी लिहिले
प्राो सारे आम्ही न अैकिले कारण पूर्वी अिलपिस्तन साो याची बोलणी

चिटणीस व नरसू जामदार यासी जाहाली होती. सबब लढाअी बाजीराव घेतो या प्रा॥ चिटणीस याणी माहूली मुकामाहून जाअून अिलपिस्तन साहेबास मा॥र पुण्यास कळविला की बाजीराव तुम्हासी लढाअी करतील हे खास. अता पूर्वीचे बोलण्याचे स्मरण असावे. त्यावर अिलपिस्तन साहेब बोलले ठिक आहे वचना प्रा॥ होअील परंतु बाजीराव लढाअी करणारच नाही. नंतर बाजीराव पुण्यास गेला. लढाअीचे वेळेस बाजीराव याणी आम्हास येकटे यावे म्हणोन पत्र पाठविले होते परंतु मातुश्री व अुमयेता बंधु सुद्धा घेअून सिध्दटेकचे मुकामी लढाअीचे पैनाजेत जाअून पोहोचलो. ते वेळेस नरसू जामदार जो सातारीयात होता त्यांस अिलपिस्तन सा॥ याणी रहिमतपूर मुकामी बोलाअून पुसले की सातारा किल्यावर सामान किती व आरब वगैरे किती आहेत. जामदार याणी अुतर केले की सामान काही नाही. (पृ.४) थोडा आरब आहे. तुम्ही जावे किला लौकर येअील. नंतर किला घ्यावयास अिलपिस्तन सा॥ गेले व जामदार याज बरोबर अिलपिस्तन साहेबानी सांगितले की माहाराज बाजीराव सुध्दा हिंदुस्थानात जलद जाणार असे आम्ही येकिले याज करिता तुम्ही जाअून माहाराजास सांगावे की तुम्ही जाअू नये. रात्री छापा घालतो त्या गडबडीत यावे आगर लस्करात कसेही यावे. रात्री संत्री लोकास वोलख पटण्याकरिता पिरंगी आसी खूण म्हणावी म्हणजे दगा होणार नाही. याप्रा॥ नरसूस सांगोन रवाना केला. पुढे अिलपिस्तन साहेब सातारा किला घ्यावयास आले. ते वेळेस किला घेतला. शेहरात अिकडिल मंडली विठल बलाल फडणीस वगैरे यास बोलाअून नेअून खातर-दारी केली आणि बोलले की अिंग्रजी सरकारची पैनाज तुमचे कच्यावास ठेवावी असी सोय नाही व या मुलखात थोडी पैनाज ठेविली तरी सारे

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प्रांत बाजीराव याचे तेव्हा गफलत होईल. त्यास करविरकर राजे हे तुमचे आहेत त्याजकडे कोणी पाठवावे व आम्ही पत्रही देतो. त्याज पासोन थोडी फौज आणोन तुम्ही आपला बच्याव करावा. त्या प्रा साहेबाचे पत्र घेऊन कोल्हापूरास विठल बलाल याणी पाठविली. परंतु आली नाही. सबब आपले बच्यावा पुर्ते लोक ठेऊन बच्याव केला. थोडे दिवसात नरसू जामदार सोलापूर मुकामी येऊन अिलपिस्तन साहेबाचा निरोप अिकडे कळविला. त्याजवरून रात्रीस छाप्यात फौजेत जाण्याचा मातबर चालीस नीट नाही याकरीता दिवसास छापा यावा म्हणजे त्यात आम्ही जाऊ ही सूचना नरसू जामदार याणे आक्लूज मुकामी जरनेल स्मित साहेबास केली. नंतर आष्टी मुकामी अिंग्रजी सरकारची फौज आली ते वेळेस बापू गोखले फौज घेऊन व दुसरे सरदार लढाव्यास गेले. तेथे जनेल साहेबासी लढाअी होऊन (पृ.५) फते जाहली नाही. सबब अिंग्रजी सरकारचे फौजेतून गोखले फौजेसहीत निघोन गेले. ते वेळेस बाजीराव आमचे समक्ष हि लढाअी पाहून आम्हास जलद चलावे म्हणत असता ते दिलात जीवाची पर्वा न धरीता आणिले नाही. बाजीराव निघोन गेले आम्ही मागे राहीलो तेव्हा बलवंतराव चिटणीस व आमचे सेनापती व आम्हास कितेक सरदार व फौज जे तेथे होते ते आनकुल होत असता परंतु ते न अेकता अिंग्रजी सरकारचे दोस्तीची खातरदारी व पूर्व संकेताचा मरवसा जाणोन अितकीयात तुरूक स्वार पुढे वाहून आले. त्यात येता वेळे रिकीबीस गोळी लागोन रिकीबी अुडाली व बलवंतराव राजे मोा सेनापती हे हातीवर होते त्याचे बगलेतून गोळी जाऊन पीलवान यास लागोन तो ठार जाला. तेव्हा सेनापतीस हत्ती वरून अुतरून घोडयावर बसविले. ते वेळेस चिटणीस व त्याचे बंधू बरोबर होते व

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मातुश्री व अुमयेता कनिष्ठ बंधू सुधा जरनेल स्मित साहेबाचे पैनाजेत मिसळलो. तेव्हा वोलख न पटता गोळ्यांचा फार मार होअू लागला व गर्दी फार सबब बलवंतराव चिटणीस यास आम्ही सांगितले की तुम्ही जाअुन तुरकातील साहेबास खबर द्यावी. घोडया वरून जाअू नये कारण दुषमान कडिल कोणी चालून आला असे त्याचे दिलात येअील आणि मारले जाल तेव्हा चिटणीस पाय अुतारा होअून तुरूक स्वाराचा सेख बडे हवलदार याचे घोडयास धरून त्यास सांगितले की हे सातारकर माहाराज आहेत. लढाअी करू नये. ज्या हवलदाराने मेजर जकीम साहेब यास खबर दिल्ही त्याणी लढाअी तहकुब करविली. ते साहेब येअून भेटले ते वेलेस आमचे सिरस्ते प्रा॰ त्याचे अंगावर दुपेटा घातला. आम्ही पैनाजेत गेलो हे वर्तमान बापू गोखले यास कलल्यावर त्याणे मनात आणिले की बाजीराव यास आता काय तोंड दाखवावे. बाजीरावाकडे जात होता तो माघारा फिरून जरनेल स्मित साहेब पैनाजेचे जवल होते त्याजवर चालून घेतले तेथे ठार जाहाले. जरनेल साहेबास बापू गोखले याचे हतची जखम लागली होती. डोलित होते त्याणी आम्ही आलो हे अैकून खुषीने घोडयावर अस्वार भेटीस आले आणि बोलले की माहाराज सरकार आले ही फार खुसी जाहाली. बरोबर ब्रिलीमोर साहेब होते तेव्हा जरनेल सा॰ बोलले की बाजीराव अता बंड जाहाला. सरकार राज्याचे खावंद आहेत. अिंग्रजी सरकारचे व माहाराज सरकारचे दोस्तीत ब्रिघाड अता कधीही व्हावयाचा नाही असे मंडली जवळ बोलले. पुढे अिलपिस्तन साहेबास आम्ही लस्करात आल्याचे माराचे पत्र ल्याहावयाचे होते परंतु स्वारीत आलकाबाचे बुक नव्हते सबब त्यांचे नावे पत्र लिहिले नाही. बालाजी नारायेण नातू अिलपिस्तन साहेबा जवळ होते सबब

अिलपिस्तन साहेबास कळण्याकरीता नातू यास चिठी पाठविली की पूर्व संकेता प्रा॰ अिकडिल येणे लस्करात जाहाले. अता पूर्व संकेताचे स्मरण तुम्हास आसावे. त्याचे अुतर नातू याणी पाठविले नाही. दुसरे दिवसी जरनेल स्मित सा॰ याणी अिकडिल बाहूटा अुभा केला व फते जाहाली म्हणोन तोफेचे बार व सलामी फैाजेची केली व सारे साहेब लेाकाच्या भेटी करविल्या व जरनेल सा॰ याणी विच्यारले की माहाराजाची खुसी सातारीयास जावयाची आहे किंवा पुण्यास जावयाची आहे. अिकडून अुतर केले की तूर्त आम्हास पुण्यासही जावयाचे नाही व सातारीयास ही जावयाचे नाही. आधी अिलपिस्तन साहेब याची भेट ध्यावयाची. नंतर बेलसरचे मुकामी अिलपिस्तन सा॰ लस्करात येअून भेटले. अिलपिस्तन सा॰ याणी जाहीरनामा करून ठेविला होता त्यात असे लिा॰ की केाणाचे ज्ञाती धर्मास हरक्त अिंग्रजी (पृ. ७) सरकारातून व्हावयाची नाही व माहाराज सरकारची व अिंग्रजी सरकारची दोस्ती जाहाली तेा जाहीरनामा अिकडे दिल्हा तेा हाली रसिदंटानी कागद नेले त्यात आहे. बालाजीपंत नातू बरोबर होते त्यास लस्करात ठेअून आपण जरुरीचे कामाकरीता पुण्यास गेले. नातू याचे मनात आपण अिकडिल कारभार करावा व आम्ही त्याचे जरबेत आसावे असे येअून नातू हे अिकडिल मंडली पासी अुगीच जिकीर करू लागले. त्याज वरून चिटणीस यास आज्ञा जाहाली की नातू अिकडिल कामात नसावे अुपयेागी नाहीत याची चाल गैरसिस्त हे अिलपिस्तन साहेबास कळविले पाहीजे. त्याज वरून चिटणीसानी जीवनराव गाअीक्वाडाकडिल वकिल पुण्यात होते त्याजकडे चिठी पाठविली की अिलपिस्तन साहेबाची माहाराजास येकांती भेट ध्यावयाची आहे असे

तुम्ही साहेबास कळवावे. त्याणी अिलपिस्तन साहेबास कळविले नंतर साहेब पुण्याहून बेलसर येथे आले. येकांती बोलणे जाहाले की नातू याची चाल गैरसिस्त व लोभी हे अिकडिल कामात नसावेत, कोणी साहेब लोक चांगला लायेक कामाचे अुपयोगी हिंदुस्थानी भाषा समजणार नेमून द्यावा. त्याजवरून साहेब याणी तेच दिवसी ग्रांट सा॥ यास लस्करातून बोलाअून आणोन गुजरून दिल्हे. हे नातू याचे मना प्रा॥ जाहाले नाही सबब त्याचे मनात व्देष वागला. नातू ग्रांट सा॥ हाताखाली होतेच. आमचे किल्ले लढत होते ते घेण्यात आम्ही व अिलपिस्तन सा॥ व जरनेल प्रिछिक सा॥ सुध्दा निघालो. वासोटा पाहाडी किल्ला त्याजवर अिकडिल खासी मंडळी घरची होती त्यास आणावयाचे होते. किल्यावर भास्करपंत मराठे किल्लेदार होते. सिपाअी लोक किल्यावर होते त्यास अिलपिस्तन सा॥ याणी पत्र पाठविले की (पृ.८) माहाराजाची खासी मंडळी वर आहे त्या सुध्दा किल्ला स्वाधीन करून द्यावा. आणी अुतर लिहिले की बाजीराव याचे स्वाधीन करीन किंवा महाराज सरकारचे हवाली करीन तुमचे हवाली करणार नाही लढाअीने काय होअील ते होवो. त्याजवरून अिलपिस्तन साहेब याणी अिकडे सांगितले की माहाराजानी निरोप पाठवावा म्हणजे किल्ला हस्तगत होअिल. म्हणजे लढाअीचे काम पडणार नाही. ते वेळेस अिकडून किल्लेदारास येका माणसाचे हते सांगोन पाठविले परंतु त्यास वोलख न पटता त्या माणसाचे खरे वाटले नाही. हे अिलपिस्तन सा॥ यास सांगितले व ते किल्लेदार गोळी टाकू लागले नंतर अिलपिस्तन सा॥ आम्हास बोलले परजन्याचे दिवस जमीन ओल डोंगरावर तुमची खासी मंडली आहेत. किल्ला तर तोफा लाविल्या खेरीज हस्तगत

होत नाही व तोफा लाविल्या असता खासी मंडली जाया होईल व सोजर लोकाचे हाल्लेने घ्यावा तर आमरयादा होईल तेव्हा कसे करावे. ते वेलेस आम्ही सांगितले की हाला करू नये परंतू इंग्रजी सरकारची मसलत साध्य ती तर तोफा लावून किला घ्यावा त्यात खासी मंडली जाया जाहाले तत्रापी चिंता नाही. इंग्रजी सरकारचे दोस्ती खातर असे सांगितले नंतर तोफा लाऊन लढाई सुरू होत असता गर्नालीचे गोळ्याने वरील खास बाब जलाला. आमचा होता तो किल्यात बहुत करून जळाला थोडा बाकी राहिला. नंतर रात्रीस किल्यावरून ब्राह्मण मिर्धा यास खासी मंडली याणी आम्हाकडे आम्ही लस्करात आहोत म्हणोन पाठविला तो लस्करात आला. त्यास सोजर याणी धरून विच्यारीले की तू कोण आहेस त्याणे सांगितले की मी माहाराजा कडिल नोकर आहे. नंतर अलपिस्तन सा॥ यानकडे गेला. अलपिस्तन सा॥ याणी त्यास आम्हाकडे पाठऊन दिल्हा. त्याजला आम्ही सांगितले की तुम्ही जाऊन किलेदारास सांगावे की मनात काही अंदेशा न आणिता किला हवाली करून द्यावा (पृ. ९) पेशवे हिंदुस्थानात गेले. आम्ही इंग्रजी लस्करात आलो नंतर त्याणे आमचा निरोप किलेदारास सांगितला. त्यावरून किलेदार याणे प्रातःकाली किला हस्तगत केला. ते वेलेस किल्यावर काही आमचा खासबाब होता तो पूर्वी आगे लागोन बहुतेक जळाला. नवीन बाजीराव याचा खजीना व जवाहीर वगैरे होते ते किलेदार इकडे हवाली घेपून करीत असता त्याचा लोभ न धरीता अलपिस्तन साहेब याचे हवाली सारे केले नंतर खासे मंडळी सुध्दा सातारा येथे गेले तेव्हा अलपिस्तन सा॥ इकडे बोलले की, बाजीराव अद्याप फौज घेऊन फिरत आहे. याज करिता मुनासब आहे की थोडे दिवस माहाराजानी

सातारा किल्यावर राहावे. ते वेळेस साहेबाचे म्हणण्या प्रा० केले. थोडे दिवसात वाशोट्याचे तोफाचा दचका बसला यामुळे सात वर्षाचे उमरीचे चिरंजीव बाबा साहेब वारले. पुढे बाजीराव याचा व जरनेल मालके साहेब याज कडेस ठराव जाहल्या नंतर ग्रांट साहेबानी सांगितले की मर्जी असेल ते वेळेस आता खाली राहण्यास यावे शेहरात यावे, राहवे. त्याजवरून शेहरात येवून राहीलो ते वेळेस अिलपिस्तन साहेब यास लिहून पाठविले त्यातील हसील की पूर्व संकेताचे बोलण्याचे स्मरण आसावे. त्याचे उतर अिलपिस्तन सा० याणी पाठविले त्यातील हसील फिदवी लोकानी ठेविले तसे न होता व वरकड संस्थानीकाहून कमती न करीता माहाराजाचे खानदान व खुसी राही(ल) आसा बंदोबस्त लाट साहेब करतील हा माहाराजानी पूरा भरवसा ठेवावा मोकदमा मोठा आहे. सबब च्यार दिवस देर लागेल कलम त्याहून लिहिले अताच हुजुरात गुजारवीला जाअील ही खातरदारी ठेवावी. पुढे थोडे दिवसात येक तहनामा लाट साहेबाचे सही मोहोरचा (पृ.१०) फारसी व अिंग्रजी व मराठी लिपीचा ग्रांट साहेब याणी आणिला आणि ग्रांट साहेबाचे म्हणे पडले की याजवर माहाराजांनी सही करावी. त्याजवर आम्ही उतर केले की तुम्ही लिहिला हा आम्ही पाहून आणि मनन करून आम्हास काही जास्ती ल्याहवयाचे असल्यास सांगून असे सांगोन पाहाव्यास घेतला. तीन दिवस होता ते वेळस बाळाजी नारायेण नातूचे म्हणे पडले की अिंग्रजी सरकारचे तर्फेनी ग्रांट साहेबाचे नाव व माहाराजाचे तर्फेनी माझे नाव घालावे म्हणजे आपण कारभार करावा हे बोलणे आतून पडले. ते ग्रांट साहेबास आम्ही कळविले. ग्रांट सा० बोलले त्याचे नाव तहनाम्यात घालणे हे नीट नाही नंतर ग्रांट साहेबानी आमचे तर्फेने विठल बलाल फडणीस आमचे दिवाण याचे

नाव लिा॰ व िंग्रजी सरकारचे तर्फेनी आपले नाव लिहिले. ग्रांट साहेबाचे म्हणे पडले की माहाराजानी कोणचे गोष्टीची आंदेशा दिलात न आणिता िंग्रजी सरकारावर व िलपिस्तन साॅवर व माझे बोलण्या-वर भरवसा ठेवून तहनामा पुरा करून द्यावा. िंग्रजी सरकाचे दोस्ती खातर नफा नुक्सान काही येक मनात न आणिता जसे ग्रांट सा॰ याणी सांगितले तसे केले आणि पेशजीचा सिका आमचे नाव वर व बाजीराव याचे नाव खाली असा सिका होता तो केला. पुढे ग्रांट सा॰ याचे म्हणे वरचेवर पडले की माहाराजानी आपले राज्य सांभाळावे त्याजवर ुतर केले की तुमचे दस्तुराचा प्रकार वगैरे पाहून नंतर स्वाधीन करून घेवू. तो परयंत तुम्ही काम पाहवे तुम्हावर आमचा भरवसा आहे. पुढे ग्रांट साहेब याणी आमचे सरकारचा सारा मुलुखगिरीचा बंदोबस्त केला (पृ. ११) हिंदू चाली प्रा॰ आमचे सल्यानी केले. ज्या गोष्टीने वहीवाटीस व्यत्येये न येता व रयत आबाद राही असा बंदोबस्त केला आणि जाहगिरदारास यादी करून दिल्यानंतर तीन वर्षानी िलपिस्तन साहेबानी ग्रांट साहेबास लिहिले की माहाराजाचे स्वाधिन राज्य करावयाचे त्यावीसी मीच यावे परंतु नुक्तीच मला गौरनरीचे काम जाहाले सबब फुरसद नाही. याज करिता कमिशनर चापलीन साहेब यास पाठवीले आहेत यास माझे ठिकाणी मानावे. नंतर ते च्यापलीन साहेब येवून राज्य िक्डे हवाली केले. कचेरी करून सर्वा देखता नंतर च्यापलीन सा॰ थोडे दिवसानी निघोन गेले. सदरी लिा॰ प्रा॰ ग्रांट साहेबाचे सल्यानी असा ग्रांट साहेबानी बंदोबस्त केला होता तसा आम्ही केला. पुढे आम्ही जे साली िंग्रजी सरकारात आलो ते साली बाजीरावयाचे लढाीचे गड बहूत. येक माणूस जो चतरसिंग बलवंतराव राजे भा॰ सेनापती याचे बाप जे कैदेत वर लिा॰ प्रा॰ मेले

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त्याचे नाव घेऊन फिरत होता. त्याजला थोडे दिवसात अिंग्रजी सरकारची व अिकडिल थोडी पैनात जाऊन प्रचितगडाहून धरून आणिला. त्याजला साहेब लोक संत्री वगैर खरे असे म्हणत होते व तो बंडवाला याणे चतरसिंग याचे विधवा स्त्रीचे अंगावरील डाग छपविल्याले व खुणा ज्या त्याचे नव-याखेरीज व चाकरीचे बायका खेरीज कोणास माहीत व्हावयाच्या नाहीत त्या त्याचे चाकरीची बायको फितऊन तीजपासोन छपविलेले खुणाची माहीतगारी करून घेऊन बोलत होता. त्या माणसाचा अिरादा होता की आमचे सरकारापासोन आपले गुजराणी करीता काही खर्चास ध्यावे परंतु तो आमचे चुलता नव्हे (पृ. १२) परंतु सारे लोक म्हणत की माहाराज राज्याचे लोमास्तव असे बोलतात परंतु ग्रांट सा॰ यास अिकडील खात्री व वाकबगारी चालीची होती त्याणी त्याचे बोलणे खरे मानीले नाही. ग्रांट साहेब याणी दर्यात्फी पूर्ण केली व वर लिहिल्या प्रा॰ ज्या बायेको पासून सिकून घेतले होते ती ही कबूल जाहाली त्याजवरून तो खोटा ठरला. नंतर त्यास कैद करून प्रयागचे किल्यात आणोन ठेविला. आद्यापी तेथेच आहे. असाच दुसरे वेळेसही त्यांचे नावे येक बंड होऊन त्या प्रा॰ च आला परंतू त्याची ही चौकसी केली. तो ही खोटा ठरला. त्यास कैद करून सातारीयात ठेविला. आमचे मधले बंधू भाऊ साहेब माहाराज हे सन १८२० साली स्वारी जमाबंदिस गेली ते समअी जथ मुकामी मृत्यु पावले. ते अैकोन त्याचे नावे येक माणूस मी भाऊ साहेब म्हणोन हिंदुस्थानात हिंडत होता. त्यास राजे रजवाडे याणी अिकडिल नावामुळे आपती वगैर केल्या असे अैकत होतो नंतर थोडे दिवसानीं अिंग्रजी सरकारातून त्यास धरून सातारा येथे आणिला ते वेळेस साहेब लोक व संत्री चतरसिंग प्रा॰च त्याजला म्हणो लागले की हे खरे भाऊसाहेब आहेत व तो म्हणे की

मजला जिवंत असता हुकुम देऊन जाळू लागले सबब मी पळून गेलो. त्याची चौकसी करावी म्हणोन ब्रीक साहेब याणी सांगितले त्याजवरून त्या मनुष्यास येकीकडे नेऊन विचारिले की तू कोण आहेस तूजला असे करण्याचे कारण काय? हा वास्तविक मजकूर असेल तसा बोल तेव्हा बोलला की मी बाजीराव साहेब याचे सिपायात चाकरीस होतो. पेश्वे जी बाजीराव (पृ. १३) साहेब सातारीयास येत होते त्याजबरोबर मी येत होतो तेव्हा माऊ साहेब माहाराज माझे पाहाण्यात होते. त्या प्रा॥ मी पोषाख करून माऊसाहेब याचे नाव घेऊन पोट भरले. आपण धणी आहा पाहीजे तसे करावे मी या प्रा॥ केले खरे असा कबुल जाहाला. त्याचे चेहऱ्याचा व हातापायाचा डौल माऊसाहेबां प्रा॥ होता. हा मनुष लबाड असा मार ब्रीक साहेब यास कळविला. माऊ साहेब मेले हा मार अिलपिस्तन साहेब यास माहीत होता. चौकसी जाहाल्यावर त्या मनुष्यास तीन म्हीने कैद करून पुढे सोडून दिल्हा. अिकडील येकदा जाबसाल अिंग्रजी सरकारात पडला असता सातार मुकामी कळऊन येथून चौकसी होत होती तीच कायम करीत होते. अिकडील अितल्या खेरीज परभार कोणच्हेही करीत नव्हते. राबीसन सा॥ रसिदंट याची बदली होऊन गेले. स्वारी तुळजापुरास गेली होती येताना मुकाम वीरवाले येथे जाहाला. तेथून पेटयास जमाबंदीस जावयाचे तो लाडअुीक साहेब रसिदंटीचे कामावर माहाबळेश्वर मुकामी आले. त्याणी याद पाठविली की आम्ही रसिदंटीचे कामावर आलो जाजकरीता माहाराजानी येऊन भेटावे. आम्ही अुतर पाठविले की आम्हास जमाबंदीस जावयाचे आहे फलटणावरून येऊन तेथे तुम्ही येऊन भेटावे व सिरस्ताही आसाच आहे की जेथे स्वारी असेल तेथे येऊन भेटून नंतर कामावर जावे आसी याद पाठविली. पुन्हा लाडविक साहेब याणी दुसरी याद

पाठविली की आम्हास येण्यास फुरसद नाही. त्याजवरून निंब मुकामी स्वारी परत आली तेथे बालाजी कासी किबे याज बरोबर निरोप आला की माहाराजानी आम्हास आडवे यावे ताजीम द्यावी व सलाम करावा. त्याजवरून त्याजपासी अुतर (पृ.१४) सांगितले की। आज परयंत वहिवाट रसिदंटास आडवे जावे आगर ताजीम ध्यावी असा नाही आणी असे साहेब कसे म्हणतात. साहेबास हा रिवाज माहीत नाही तुम्हीच त्यास असे गैर समजावीले असेल त्याजवरून साहेब म्हणत असतील त्यास सांगावे की बिलकुल ही गोष्ट व्हावयाची नाही. त्याजवरून किबे यास व साहेबास वाअीट वाटले नंतर लाडअुअीक साहेब निंब मुकामी येअून पेशजीचे कायद्या प्रा। भेट घेतली हे रसिदंटीवर पाठविले असे सिरस्ते प्रा। गोरनर साहेब याचे पत्र दिल्हे. किबे याचे मनात पेशजी पासोन अिकडिल विसी वाकडेपणा होता परंतु ब्रीक साहेब लौकर गेले याजमुळे त्याचे काही होअू सकले नाही. नंतर राबीसन साहेब रसिदंटीवर आले. त्याजला किबे याचे चालीची माहीती होती सबब त्याचे काही चालले नाही. पुढे लाडअुअीक साहेब येताच अिकडिल विसी त्याचे दिलात गैर समजाअून वाकडे आणोन दिल्हे. नंतर जयवंतराव मंत्री जाहगरदार यास दत्त(क) पुत्र देण्याचे ठरअून सिरस्ते प्रा। नजर घेअून दतक दिल्हा. पुढे ते मृत्यु पावले त्याचे चिरंजीवास जाहागीरीची वस्त्रे दिल्ही. त्या जाहागीरदारास लाडअुअीक साहेब याचे म्हणे पडले की तुमचा अिंग्रजी सरकारचे सरहदीत जो मुलुख असेल त्याची नजर अिंग्रजी सरकारात द्यावी व माहाराज सरकारचे सरहदीत जो मुलुख असेल त्याची नजर माहाराज सरकारात द्यावी. त्याणी अुतर केले की आसा आज परयंत सिरस्ता नाही. पेशजी पासून जसा सिरस्ता त्या प्रा। माहाराज सरकारात नजर दिल्ही असे मंत्री बोलले त्यावरून लाडअुअीक साहेबांनी अिंग्रजी

सरकारचे अिलाख्यात जेथे जेथे गाव होते त्याच्या जप्त्या करविल्या. त्याजवरून मंत्री यांणी हा मार अिकडे कळविला त्याजवरून सिरस्ते प्रा तीन वेळा यादी रसिदंट याजकडे पाठविल्या असे असता जबाब न येता त्याज पासोन जबरीने नजरेचा अैवज घेअून गावाच्या मोकलिका केल्या. (पृ. १५) पुढे थोडे दिवसानी बाजीराव पेशवे याचे नवीन जाहागीरदार खाजगीवाले याचा कोवाली हा गाव अिकडिल हदित होता ते मृत्यू पावले तेव्हा तो गाव आमचे सरकारात जमेस यावयाचा कारण अिलपिस्तन साहेब याचा लेखच आहे की नवीन जहागीरा ज्या पेशवे याणी दिल्हया त्या जहागीरदार याचे मागे जसजसा अिंग्रजी सरकारचा फायदा होअील तसतसा माहाराज सरकारचा होअील. त्याजवरून कोवाली हा गाव आमचे जमेस यावा म्हणोन यादी पाठविल्या परंतु त्या प्रा जाबसाल न अुलगडेता जत्राब नाही आणि तो गाव अिंग्रजी सरकारात जप्त केला. अशा खलेली वहिवाटीस आणू लागले व बालाजी पंत नातू याणी पुणे मुकामी यजंट कचेरीतील वार्थीन साहेब यास लेखाचे विपरीत अर्थ करून गैर समजावीले की निरा दक्षण तीर माहाराज सरकारची हद व निरा अुतर तीर अिंग्रजी सरकारची हद असा गैर मनकुर समजावीला. पुढे वार्थीन साहेबास सकटतारीचे कामावर मुंबअीस नेमले त्याणी पूर्वी लेखाचा मार सरहदीविसी गैारनर साहेब यास वास्तविक न समजाविता वर लिहिले नातूचे सांगण्या प्रा गैारनर साहेब यास समजाविला त्या प्रा सरहदीविसी याद येअून सरहदीचा खटला अुपस्थित जाहाला. हा मार व जाहगीरदार याचा वर लिहिलेला मार गैारनर क्लेर साहेब यास येकीकडे समजाविला की तुमचे कामगार याणी गैर करून आमची पेसनी

ग्रांट साहेबापासून जी वहिवाट चालली त्यास व्यत्यये आणोन नौकीरी करू लागले त्यास येवीसीचा बंदोबस्त तुम्ही आसता करून त्या प्रां वहिवाट व्हावी असे सांगितले.तेव्हा क्लेर साहेब याणी सांगीतले की वर सरहदीचा व जहागीरदार याचा वगैर मार आपण सांगितला याची मला पूर्ण वाक्वगारी नाही. येविसी ची पुरी माहीतगारी अिलपिस्तन साहेब व ग्रांट साहेब (पृ.१६) यास आहे तरी येवीसी सा-या मारा-ची पत्रे माहाराजानी विलायतेस अुमयेता साहेबास पाठवावी म्हणजे ते माहीतीचे सरकारातून बंदोबस्त करतील. त्याजवरून क्लेर साहेबाचे सांगण्याप्रां अिलपिस्तन साहेब व ग्रांट साहेब यास रसिदंटाकडून पत्रे पाठविली ती पत्रे कोर्ट आफ डरेक्टर याज पासी गेली. त्याणी पाहून अुतर लिहिले की माहाराजाचा मार खरा आहे व जहागीरदार याचा बंदोबस्त माहाराजानी फार चांगला केला व अिलपिस्तन साहेब व ग्रांट साहेब हली अिंग्रजी सरकारचे चाकरीवर नाहीत. त्यास माहाराजाचे कामाबदल पत्रे आम्ही ध्यावी हे युक्त दिसत नाही व माहाराजानी परभारे पत्रे पाठविण्यास आटकाव आहे असे नाही व माहाराजाचे वाजवी कामाविसी हमेशा येकून घेण्यास आम्हास फार खुसी आहे व जाहागीरदारीचे बेवारीस जाहाल्यास त्या प्रां दौलती माहाराज सरकारात येतील वगैर मार लिहून मुंबअी कौसलात जाला त्या लिहिल्या प्रां बंदोबस्त केला असता बाध येता सबब कोर्टाची यादच अिकडे देत नव्हते कशासाठी न कळे परंतु गौरनर ग्रांट साहेब सन १८३५ साली आले त्याची भेट जाहाल्यानंतर त्याजपासोन फार जिकिर करून मागोन घेतली. ती याद रसिदंटानी कागद आमचे वाडयातून नेले त्यात आहे. रसिदंट याचे मनात माहाराजा-चा मार कोर्ट डरेक्टरास कळला आपण केले त्यास बाध येअील या

रागाने दिवसेंदिवस जास्ती जिकीरी हरयेक कामात करू लागले. गोरनर साहेबाचे मुलाखती करता स्वारी नहरास जाण्याची तेव्हा सिरस्ते प्रा। सारे जाहगीरदार बरोबर असावयाचे परंतु डाकेने स्वारी जाऊन भेट जाहाली यामुळे कोणीच जाहागीरदार नव्हते. स्वारी परत आल्यानंतर मागून खान म्हंमद वाऔकर अकडिल जाहगीरदार भेटीस महाबळेश्वरास गेले. त्याणी रसिदंट लाडअुऔक साहेबास बोलले की आमची व गोरनर साहेबाची भेट करवावी. त्याणी सांगितले की आता गोरनराची भेट व्हावयाची नाही असे बोलण्याचे कारण खान म्हंमद याचे तीर्थरूप मेल्यानंतर अिंग्रजी सरकारचे अिलाख्यात अम्मल होते त्याची जप्ती जाहाली होती. पुन्हा अिकडून यादी रसिदंटाकडे जाअुन मोकळीक जाहाली होती पुढे आणखी लाडअुऔक साहेबानी जप्ती करवीली तेव्हा हा मार गोरनरापासी बोलतील सबब त्याजला सांगीतले की भेट व्हावयाची नाही. नंतर त्याणी परभारे भेट घेतली याजमुळे वाऔट वाटले आणि पुणे येथील कलेक्टरास लिहिले की अवरसपुत्र खान म्हंमद नव्हेत हे प्रत्यक्ष पुत्र असता व हे अवरसपुत्र याजकडे आमल चालवावा असे पुणे येथील कलेक्टराचे दस्त अैवज असता पुन्हा पेसजी सेखमीरा मेले ते वेळेस जप्ती होअुन मोकळीक जाहाली होती त्याची जप्ती करविली ती सातारीयाहून निंबास येऔ तो परयंत काही दर्याप्ती जाहाली नाही व मोकळीक जाहाली नाही जप्तीच होती. लाडअुऔक सा। याणी याद पाठविली की परहदी तील कर्ज कोणी घेअू नये म्हणजे तंटे पडणार नाहीत आणि अिनसाफास ठिक पडेल. त्याजवरून जाहगीरदार यास पत्रे पाठविली व सर्वास कळण्याकरीता जाहीरनामा केला त्याज पा। सचीव याचे पत्राचे अुतर बालाजी नारायेण नातू याचे सिकवणी-

वरून येते की आम्ही कोणते हद्दीतील हे आम्हास कळले पाहीजे असे येते कारण नातू याणी (पृ.१८) सचिव यास कर्ज देऊन आपल्यास गावअी-नाम जाहगीरदार याजपासोन मिळावे याजकरीता जाहगीरदाराचे कामात सिरून कारभार आपले फायद्याकरिता व अिकडिल वाकुडपणा अुगविण्याकरीता जाहागीरदारासी मित्रतावा ठेविला. आणी याद आली त्याजवरून पाहता नातू परहदीतील यासी कारभार करू नये असे होते. कर्ज न दिल्हे तरी यात आपला फायेदा बुडतो वाकुडपणा मनात आणिला व पेसजीचा वगैर व्देष मनात आणोन हलीची वेळ पाहून सदरी लिहिल्या प्रा। केले.वर लिहिलेली सचिव याची दरखस्त म्हणजे दस्ता अैवज माहाराजा पासी राहीला असता आपल्यावर बदनामी येअील की सचीवास नातू याणी सिकविले असे होअील तेव्हा आमचे जवळ येअून बोलले की सचिव हे मूळ ते पत्र मजला परत द्यावे. मी कारण पडेल तेव्हा सरकारात हजर करीन म्हणोन पदर पसरून मागोन घेतले ते नातू याजपासोन आमचे आम्हास देवावे म्हणोन रसिदंट वोविन सा। व गोरनर कारनीक सा। याची भेट जाहाली ते वेळेस सांगीतले परंतु त्याणी आणोन देविले नाही ही गोष्ट आमचे नोकर लोकास माहीत आहे. पुढे महाब्ळेश्वर मुकामी रसिदंट लाडअुीक साहेब यास बहून प्रकारे सरहद्दीविसी व जाहागीरदाराविसी वगैरे मार समजाविला असता त्यास आणीनात बोलले की घाअी काय आहे पुन्हा विलायेतेस लिहून येवीसी तेथून हुकुम येअील त्या प्रा। करीता येअील. अिकडून अुतर जाहाले की खलेल अुत्पन्न होअून च्यार वर्षे जाहाली आद्याप परयेत फैसल होअून बंदोबस्त होत नाही त्यास आमुक दिवसात जबाब आणअून बंदोबस्त करून देतो असा दस्त

अैवज द्यावा तेा परयेंत आम्ही वाट पाहतेा. याचे अुतर रसिदंटानी केले की आजच याची घाअी काय आहे पन्नास वर्षानी आले म्हणेान काय चिंता आहे. (पृ. १९) या प्राो तेढीचे बेालणे पडू लागले नंतर गेारनर प्रांट साो यास दुसरे दिवसी वर लिहिल्या प्राो वेगले वेगले सारे मार समजेान दिल्हे. ते वेलेस रसिदंट लाडअुअीक साहेब ही जवलच हेाते त्याणी अुतर केले की जेा मार मला माहाराजानी कळविला तेा मी कैासलात गेारनरास कळविला. मजकडे येविसीचे काय आहे असे रसिदंट गेारनराचे समक्ष बेालले. आम्ही बेालेा की रसिदंट असे म्हणतात गेारनर क्लेर साहेब याणी जाते वेलेस अिकडे खातरदारी करीता पत्र पाठवीले की अिंग्रजी सरकार आपले लेख आहेत व वहिवाट आहे त्या प्राो चालतील ही पुरी खात्री माहाराजानी ठेवावी असे लिहून पाठविले ते रसिदंटानी वाडयातून सारे कागद नेले त्यात आहे. नंतर गेले त्या प्राो केार्ट आफ डरेक्टराचा हुकुम आहे त्या आनवये हेात नाही आणि गेारनर प्रांट साहेबास बेालेा की तुमची ही बदली हेाअुन गेली म्हणजे दुसरे गेारनर आले असता म्हणतील की पेसजीचे गेारनराचे हातून का बंदेाबस्त करून घेतला नाही. त्या गेारनराचे हातुन बंदेाबस्त जाहाला नाही तेा आमचे हातून कसा हेाअील तेव्हा पुढे बेालणेस जागा राहणार नाही याजकरीता तुम्ही आहा तेाच येविसीचा बंदेाबस्त हेाअुन पेसजी वहिवाट सुरलीत चाले असे जाहाले पाहीजे. याद आली असता ही पुढे येक वर्षानी असे म्हणेा लागले गेारनर साो बेालले की येवीसी विलायतेस पुन्हा लिहून तेथून हुकुम येअील त्या प्राो करू. अुतर जाले की आमुक दिवसात जबाब आणेान बंदेाबस्त करून देतेा. असा दस्त अैवज करून दयावा तेा परयंत आम्ही दम धरीतेा. गेारनर

साहेब बोलले की विलायतेचा दरबर मोठा कामे फार केव्हा होते याचा नेम काय सांगाव. अुतर जाले की दाहा वर्षे परयेत पाहीजेल तर नेम करावा. गेारनर साहेब बोलले की नेमाचे सांगवत नाही होअील तेव्हा (पृ. २०) व्हावे अिकडून अुतर जाले की नेमाचेही क्लत नाही व दिवसेदिवस वहिवाटीस ही खलेल जाजतीच येत चालली. केार्ट आफ डरेक्टर याचे लिहिण्या प्रा बंदोबस्त होत नाही तेव्हा सर्व मार विलायतेस कोणी पाठअून क्लविणे प्राप्त कारण कोर्ट आफ डरेक्टर दोष ठेवीतील की आम्ही माहाराजांचे बंदोबस्ता विसी याद लिहिली आणि त्यात खलेल जाली तेव्हा हा मार आम्हास माहाराजानी का कळवीला नाही. मग याचा जबाब आम्ही काय करावा याज करीता येथे येविसीचा बंदोबस्त तुम्ही करून द्यावा नाही तर आम्ही विलायतेस कोणी पाठअू या प्रा बोलणे जाहाले. माहाबळेश्वर हा डोंगर अीकडिल हदितील.डोंगर मोठा व डोंगरावर झाडे फार हवा चांगली माल्के साहेब गेारनर याचे पसंद आली. सबब तेथे वस्ती करण्याकरीता थोडी जागा मागोन घेअून त्याचे मोबदला दुसरा गाव दिल्हा. अिकडून दोस्ती खातर घ्यावयाचा नाही म्हणोन सांगीतले. माल्के साहेब बोलले की तसा घेण्याचा दस्तूर नाही माहाराजानी घ्यावा. सबब खंडाळा घेतला. डोंगरावर बंगले बांधोन माल्के साहेब याणी पेठेची वसाहत करून त्या पेठेचे नाव माल्केपेठ ठेविले. ते वेळेस हद केली आहे. सन १८३५ साली अिंग्रजी सरकार चे सिपाअी याणी अिकडिल हदित छपरे घालून राहीले त्यामुळे अिकडिल स्वारी तेथे गेल्यावर मुकामाचे तळास आडचण होअू लागली व दोन विहिरीचे पाणी खराब होअू लागली. यामुळे रसिदंट लाडअुीक साहेब यास

सांगितले की संत्री याणी अिकडिल हदित छपरे घालण्याचे कारण कोणते तेव्हा काढतो म्हणोन बोलले परंतु काढली नाहीत. सरकार स्वारी महाबळेश्वरास प्रतापगडास जाण्यास मुकाम जाहाला (पृ. २१) ते वेळेस लस्करास अडचण होअु लागली व संत्री विहरीवर पाणी भरावयास येहत. ते आमचे दोनी विहरीचे हमेशा. तेव्हा अिकडिल लोकांसी तंटा करीत. तेथे अिकडिल बंगले बांधले होते त्याचे काम गोविंदराव विठल याजकडे होते त्याणी विहरीवर सिपाअी बसअुन पाण्याचा बंदोबस्त राखला होता. लस्कराकरिता त्याचे सिपाअी यासी तंटा करून संत्री जबरीने पाणी भरून नेअु लागले. गोविंदराव याणी सरकारास विनंती केली की आमचा हिंदु धर्म आणि संत्री जात माहार वगैर हालके जातीचे पाणी खराब करीतात. या प्रा॥ रसिदंट याजकडे सांगोन पाठवीले की साल गु॥ छपरे काढतो म्हणोन बोलले असता अद्याप छेपऱ्या निघत नाहीत. दिवसेंदिवस हरयेक कलमास रेटाअीनेच चालले आहे. लागलीच स्वारीचे कूच करून परगावास गेलो हा मार गोरनर ग्रांट साहेब ते वेळेस तेथे होते त्यास समजताच त्याणी छेपऱ्या दुसरे दिवसी काढण्यास हुकुम दिल्हा. संत्री याणी आदावतीने जाळुन टाकल्या. संत्रीचे मना प्रा॥ जाहाले नाही सबब नाखुष होअुन अिकडिल नोकर लोकापासी म्हणत होते की राजे साहेबानी आमच्या छावण्या काढविल्या काही चिंता नाही. साहा महिन्याने पाहून घेअु व दिवाण याणी आमचे पाणी विहरीवरील बंद केले काही चिंता नाही पाहून घेअु. दोन तीन दिवसानंतर माहाबळेश्वरास छावणी काढली हे आम्ही अैकोन गोरनर साहेबाचे मर्जी खातर तीन दिवस मुकाम केला. परस्परे जापनती होअुन बोलणी जाहाली तो मार सदरी लिहिलाच आहे.

सातारा मुकामी आल्यावर संत्रीचा गुरन (पृ. २२) म्हणोन सातारी यात अिंग्रजी छावणीत आमचे हादीत राहत होता. तेथे संत्री लोक नेहमी येत होते सबब लस्करात बखेडा होअू लागला म्हणोन रसिदंट साहेबाची याद आली की त्या गुरूस घालअून द्यावा. त्या प्रा गोविंदराव व्किल यास हुकुम होअून घालअून दिल्हा. तो व्देस अिकडिल विसी व गोविंदराव याजविसी धरीला. पुढे विलायेतेस बादशाराणी व दपारनमेट व बोर्ड आफ कंत्रोल व कोर्ट आफ डरेक्टर व लाट साहेब यास येकंदर वर लिा माराची पत्रे पाठविण्याकरीता गोविंदराव व्किल याचे घरी तयार होत होती. येकंदर कागदपत्राची तयारी करून कोणी पाठविणाराची योजना करावी म्हणोन सेखमीरा आफजल आली यास मुंबअीहून बोलाअून आणोन सिध्दता केली. रसिदंट लडवीक साहेब यास खबर देअून नंतर रवाना करावयाचे तो अितक्यात लाडविक साहेब आमचे वाडयात येअून बोलले की माहाराज विलायतेस कोणी पाठविणार म्हणोन अैकिले. अिकडून अुतर जाहाले की येवीसी तुम्हास व गोरनर ग्रांट साहेब यास पेसजी सांगीतलेच होते. आम्ही तयारी करून ठेविली आहे तुम्हास विच्यारून नंतर रवाना करावयाचे. लाडवीक साहेब बोलले की माहाराजानी आम्हास विलायेतेस आम्ही कोणी पाठविता म्हणोन सांगीतले नव्हते. तुम्ही कोणी पाठअू नये पाठविले असता आम्ही त्या माणसा सुद्धा धरून आणू. अुतर जाहाले की तुम्ही अैकूनच घ्याना व फैसल कराना सबब कोणी पाठवीतो. तुम्ही जबरदस्त आहा पाहीजे तर धरून आणा. (पृ. २३) लाडवीक साहेब बोलले माहाराजानी कोणी विलायेतेस

पाठविण्यास आमची व माहाराजाची दुष्मानी जाहाली. माहारा-
जानी आम्हास सांगोन विलायेतेस बोलणे केले असता तहनाम्यातील
पाचवे कलमात लिहिल्या प्रा॰ माहाराजाचा फायदा बरबाद
होओील असी बेअादबीची वगैर बोलणी जाहाली. त्याची बारनीसी
रसिदंट याणी कागद आमचे नेले त्यात आहे. पुढे त्याच साली
सपटंबर म्हीन्यात प्रातः काळचे दाहा वाजता रसिदंट साहेब येअून
माहाराजाची जरूरीने गाठ पडली पाहीजे काही गुप्त मा॰र
बोलावयाचा आहे असे म्हणोन आम्हास पुजेतून अुठवून बोलणे जाहाले
की अिंग्रजी सरकारावर काही फितुराचा मोकदमा आहे त्याचा
मा॰र गोविंदराव विठल यास माहीत आहे त्यास आमचे बंगल्यास
पा॰ द्यावे. माहाराजानी सांगितले की अिंग्रजी सरकार व
माहाराज सरकार येकच आहे. काय मा॰र असेल तो सांगावा.
लाडवीक सा॰ बोलले की आम्ही त्यास नेअून विच्यारीतो आणि
वरचेवर परत पाठअून देतो. ते वेळेस आम्हास काही न सांगता
गोविंदराव विठल यास बंगल्यास नेअून कैद केले. नंतर त्याजला
काय विच्यारीले ते अिकडे कळविले नाही. त्याजला कैदेत फार
अिजा दिल्ही ती असी की ज्याणी मोठी तक्सीर केली असेल
त्यास देखील असी अिजा कोणी देअू सकणार नाही. पुढे नवंबर
महिन्यात क्यामेटी करीता अुल्बी साहेब सकटतार व वोवीन सा॰
हली रसिदंटीवर आहेत ते आले. त्यास गोरनर ग्रांट साहेबानी
पत्र दिल्हे की या अुभयेता साहेबास मुंबअी सरकारचे ठिकाणी
मानून याची अंतस्तपणी (पृ. २४) गाठ घेअून बंगल्यास जाअून येकी-
कडे गुप्तपणी चोकसीस सामील असावे व साहेब येकांती माहाराजाची

गाठ घेतील त्याजला आपला मार दरोबस्त कळवावा. त्या पत्रा प्रा त्या साहेबानी न करीता प्रसिध्दपणे आम्हास ब्रंगल्यास रसिदंट येअून घेअून गेले. ते वेलेस चिरंजीव आपासाहेब माहाराज व बलवंतराव राजे मा सेनापती बरोबर होते. तेथे सदरी लिहिले माराचे गेारनर साहेबाचे पत्र देअून गेाविंदराव विठल यास कैद करण्याची सबब दाखविली आणि ज्या संत्रीने गेाविंदराव याजवर खोटे माराची जबानी दिल्ही त्याचे नाव माहीत नाही त्या जबान्या दाखविल्या. त्यात लिहिले होते की माहाराज व गेाविंदराव आम्हापासी बेालले. लाडवीक साहेब म्हणतात माहाराजास आम्ही कलकत्यास[1] नेअू सबब तुम्ही पलटणे फिरतवा. याप्रा सिपाअी याणे जाहीर केले होते ते वेावीन साहेब याणी वाचून दाखविले त्याचा सारा बयान करू सक्त नाही. तेांडाने स्मरण नाही परंतु त्यातील मुख्य माव अितकाच आहे. ते वेलेस लाडवीक साहेब यास आम्ही विच्यारले की तुम्ही विलायेतेस आम्हास नेअू म्हणेान असे आम्हापासी कधी बेालत होता की काय. लाडवीक सा बेालले की असे मी माहाराजापासी काही बेाललेा नाही. संत्री याणी करयावरून लिहिले ते लबाड आहेत. अिकडून अुतर जाले की तुम्हाविसी जे संत्री बेालतात ते लबाड आणि आम्हा विसी आम्ही फितूर करा म्हणेान संत्रीस सांगितले हे बेालतात हे मात्र खरे. ते वेलेस असे त्या अुमयेता साहेबास रसिदंटा देखता (पृ. २५) सांगितले व येकंदर जबान्याच्या नकला अिकडे द्याव्यात म्हणजे त्याचे जबाब आम्ही देअू. साहेबानी येअून वाडयात मेटावे आमचा मार अैकून ध्यावा म्हणजे साहेबाचे दिलात येअील. साहेब बेाल्ले ठीक आहे. आम्ही वाडयात आल्यावर जेा मार आम्हास त्याणी वाचून दाखविल

होता तो आपले नोकर लोकास पुसिला. त्याज पा॥ ज्याणी ज्याणी संत्रीविसी व या मोकद्दम्या बदल शेहरातील व गोविंदराव याचा खिसमतगार वगैर कैद केले होते खोटे साक्षी करीता त्याज विसी जो मा॥र त्याणी लिहून दिल्हा तो कागद व अिकडिल याद व ती मंडली साक्षी करीता रसिदंट सा॥ याचे बंगल्यास पाठऊन दिल्ही. त्याचा मा॥र रसिदंट साहेबांनी व अुभयेता साहेबानी अैकून घेतला व कागदपत्र घेतले. याद पाठविली त्यात लि॥ आहे की हली जो मा॥र समजण्यात आला तो लिहिलाच आहे यावर शोध लागेल. तसे कलवि-ण्यात येअील असे लि॥ असता त्याचा जवाब नाही व चोकसीही केली नाही. नंतर दुसरे दिवसी सरकार स्वारी व चिरंजीव आपा साहेब माहाराज व बलवंतराव राजे मा॥ सेनापती सुधा बंगल्यात जाऊन तीन कलमाची याद दिल्ही. त्यात लिहिले होते की अिंग्रजी सरकारचे दिलात काही आंदेशा असल्यास राज्य अिंग्रजी सरकारात राहील. आंदेशा दूर जाहाल्या नंतर राज्य आमचेच आहे. दोस्ती खातर पाहिजेल तर अिंग्रजी सरकारानी येखादे काम सांगोन पाहावे जीवाची परवा न करीता अिकडून होते किंवा नाही ही खात्री पाहावी. अिकडून अिंग्रजी सरकारासी दोस्ती खातर पंचाअीव सांगावयाची नाही. (पृ. २६) त्याचा जवाब नाही व त्याणी तपास काय केला तो अिकडे कऊविला नाही व सदरी लिहिल्या प्रा॥ संत्रीचे जबान्याच्या नकला देतो म्हणोन बोलले असता जबान्याच्या नकला न देता व अिकडे भेटून मा॥र अैकून न घेता निघोन गेले. तपास करण्याचा कायदा असा येक तर्फी नसता असे केले व त्याणी गोरनर साहेब यास काय कऊविले असेल न कले. पुढे अिकडून दस-याचा

पोषाख सिरस्ते प्रा गेारनर ग्रांट साहेब यास मुंबईीस रसिदंट साहेब यास खबर देऊन पाठविला असता त्या माणसाची गाठ न घेता व न बोलता पोषाख व पत्र घेतले नाही व अिकडिल मार त्या माणसास संत्रीचे मोकदम्या प्रकरणी कलविण्याविसी सांगितले होते परंतु तो मार तसाच राहिला व आणखीही मंडलीस पत्रे देऊन मजकूर समजविण्याकरिता त्याजकडे पाठऊन दिल्ही परंतु त्याची गाठ घेऊन मार अैकून घेतला नाही. पेशजी गेारनराकडे पत्राचे वगेर अिकडून जात होते ते वेलेस त्या माणसाची भेट घेऊन मार अैकून घेत होते व जबाब देत होते हली आसा प्रकार होऊ लागला. पुढे लाडवीक साहेब याची बदली होऊन वोवीसन साहेब रसिदंटीचे कामावर आले. त्याणी ग्रांट साहेबाचे पत्र देऊन भेटले. त्याजलाही अिकडून सांगितले की तुम्हास परभारे कोणी काही मार कळविला तर तो अिकडे कलऊन त्याची अिकडून पुरी वाकबगारी करून घेऊन नंतर वाजवी असेल त्या प्रा करावे. साहेब बोलले की जे वाजवी असेल त्या प्रा होअील मजकडून तकरार व्हावयाची नाही. परंतु अिकडे न पुसता व अिकडून यादी गेल्या (पृ. २७) त्याचे जबाब न लिहिता दिवसेंदिवस अधिकच तकरार व्देषी लेाकाचे समजाविण्यावरून करू लागले. आबा माहाडिक यास सन १८३७ साली जून महिन्यात कैद करून नेले. पुढे आठा दिवसानी येलोजी मोहिते यास कैद केले त्या लेाकास बालाजी पंत नातू याणी जरब व लेाभ दाखऊन आपले मना प्रा त्यास अनकुल करून घेतले आणि त्याजपासेान जामीन घेऊन सेाडले. येलोजी मोहीते याचे धाकटे बंधू दिनकरराव मोहीते सेनाकर्ते याजकडे सिबंदीचे काम होते त्याज बदल त्याचा मरातब मोठा होता त्या प्रा आपला

आसावा हे येलोजी मोहीते याचे म्नात. यामुळे सरकाराविसी वाकडे होते व माझूपण्याचे खटल्याबदल वाद होता तो सरकारातून वाजवी प्रा तुटक केला होता. तो फैसल येलोजी मोहिते याचे मना प्रा न जाहाल्यामुळे नाखूष होते. त्या रागाने आपण सुटल्या- नंतर रसिदंट साहेब यास गैर समजाऊन त्याणी दिनकरराव मोहिते यास कैद केले. येलोजी मोहिते व आबा माहाडिक याची चाल गैर सिस्त याजमुळे जमीन साहेब याणी पेंशनी नागपुराहून घालऊन दिल्हे होते ते सातारीयास आले. आम्हास पेंशनीची माहीत गारी होती सबब त्यास कामात न वागविता जातीचे सबब पोटा- पुरते चालविण्याची तजवीज ठेविली होती. माहे जुलई महिन्यात बलवंतराव मल्हार चिटणीस यास रसिदंट साहेब याणी आपला कारकून पाठऊन बोलाऊन नेऊन कैद केले. माहे सपटेंबर महिन्यात खंडोजी नाईक कासकर यास व बबजी पराडकर व निळोपंत मडकमकर यास सिरहू चिटणीसा प्राच कैद केले व पुणे मुकामी रामचंद्रपंत कारकून आमचे वतनाचे गाव इंग्रजी जिलाख्यात आहेत त्याचे जाबसाला करीता ठेविला होता त्यास भेटून कैद करून आणिला. त्यास (पृ. २८) असी कोठेही कैद करण्याची चाल नाही परंतु ज्या ज्या माणसास मागीतले त्या त्या माणसास तक्रार न करिता दोस्ती खातर हवाली करून दिल्हे कारण इकडून गैर काहीच नाही. सबब व आणखी ही त्याणी शेहरातील रयेत लोका पा काही लोक कैद केले त्याची नावे स्मरणात नाहीत व ते कशासाठी कैद केले हे आम्हास काहीच वाकब नाही. बाळाजी नारायण नातू वगैर दुष्मान याणी आपण जे कृत्य रसिदंट साहेब यास समजाविले त्यास व्यत्यये येऊ नये

सबब कासी सिवराम बेंद्रे व विठल सखाराम पारसनीस या आुमयेताची गैरचाल याजमुळे पेशजी ग्रांट सा॰ याणी सातारीयाहून घालऊन दिल्हे होते. ग्रांट साहेब गेल्यानंतर राबीसन सा॰ याचे हुकमावरून सातारीयात आले. हे जुने नोकर सबब पुढे काही दिवसानीं कामात न वागवीता पोटापुरते देत होते परंतू घालऊन दिल्हयाची व कामात वागवीत नाहीत याची नाखुषी मनात आणोन वाकुडपण्यामुळे नातूचे मीलणीस मिळोन आम्हावीसी गैर पाहीजे तसे रसिदंट सा॰स समजाविले. ते जीराम जवाहीर सावकार याचे दुकानी बालाजी नारायण नातू याणी आपला पैका ठेऊन आम्हावर काही तरी तुफान येाजावे म्हणोन त्याजकडून वहयावर खोटे जमाखर्च नातूचे सांगण्या प्रा॰ केले की माहाराजाचे हुकमाने व नावाने फितूरासाठी आमच्यास पैसा देवीला परंतू कधीच आम्ही त्या सावकारापासी पैसा ठेविला नाही व त्यासी व्यव्हार ठेविला नाही. हे सारे कागदपत्र रसिदंट साहेब यास दाखविले परंतु सारे खोटे व हाच सावकार सेनापतीचे मालीयेतीची किंम्त करून घेण्याकरीता जे वेळेस आम्ही कासीस येत होतेा (पृ. २९) तेव्हा पाठविला होता. त्या सावकाराची चाल पेशजी पासोन गैरसिस्त. खोटे दिवाळे काढून लेाकाचे पैके बुडवावे व लेाकाचे नावे खोटे जमाखर्च करावे असी त्याची गैरचाल सर्वास महशूर आहे. माहादाची गंगाधर पटवर्धन कारकून नी॥ प्रतिनिधी हा त्याचे तर्फेने सातारीयात होता त्याणे प्रतिनिधी याचे बायको पासोन काही कामामुळे लाच घेतला हा मार प्रतिनिधी याणी अिकडे कळविल्यामुळे त्यास घालऊन देण्याविसी हुकूम दिल्हा व म्हताप नाअिकी(णी) वर अिकडिल नोकर तीची पोरगी पटवर्धन याणी फितऊन येक येजमानास

ठेऊन दिल्ही व येक आपण ठेविली. त्याजबदल नाअिकीणीवर फिर्याद जाल्हावरून त्यास सोडोन देणे विसी ताकिद केली असता सोडून दिल्हया नाहीत. असे कितेक प्रकारेचे वाकुडपणे मनात आणोन तो ही नातू याचे मिलाण्यास मिळाला. अिकडिल जाहगीरदार रघुनाथ-राव चिमणाजी सचिव हे सन १८३७ अिसवी साली मृत्यु पावले. त्यास पुत्र नाही. बेवारसी जाहा त्याचे मागे जाहगीरदार याच्या दौलती माहाराज सरकारात यावयाच्या असे असता परमारे रसिदंट साहेब याणी जप्ती केली. तेव्हा हा अंदेशा नातूनी मनात आणिला की असे जाहाले अता आपण जो पैका आपण सचिवास कर्ज दिल्हा तो बुडेल. सबब रसिदंट सा॰ यास गैरसमजाऊन कायद्याखेरीज सचिवाचे विधवास्त्रीने दतक घेतला होता तोच रसिदंटाकडून मुकरार करून जहा-गीर त्याजकडे चालविली. असे प्रकार अिकडिल हुरमत कमी होण्याचे आणखी करू लागले. जाहगीरदार यास आश्रय दिल्ह्यामुळे व त्याची खटली अिकडून मनास आणावी असा कायेदा असता परमारे रसिदंट सा॰ मनास आणू लागले यामुळे ते लोक अिकडिल मरातब मनात न आणिता हुकमास तकरार (पृ. ३०) करून लागले. या प्रा॰ सारे जाहगीर-दाराविसी अिकडून यादी गेल्या. परंतु काही जाहाले नाही आणि अद्याप परयेंत वर लिहिले प्रा॰ जाहगीरी ज्यास बेकायदा दतक दिल्हया त्याजकडे चालत आहेत. जाहगीरदार पा॰ जे जाहगीरदार हुकमास तकरार व कायदे करून दिल्हे त्या प्रा॰ न चालत याजकरिता ते वेळेस त्याचे गाव जप्त करून गुन्हेगारी रसिदंटाची सला घेऊन घेतली व अिकडिल सांगण्याप्रा॰ हुकमत ठेवित होते. सन १८३७ साली आक्टोबर महिन्यात दस-यात रसिदंट वोविन साहेब याणी आपला कारकून बालाजी कासी किबे व मालदार याजबरोबर निरोप सांगोन पाठवीला

की तुमचा आमचा बिघाड आहे त्यास माहाराजा कडील कोणी येऊ नये व आमचे कोणी येणार नाही. तेव्हा आम्ही मुंबईस आमचे दोस्त डाक्तर मिलन सा॰ यास सांगोन पाठविले की रसिदंटास काही मार सांगितले असता मनावर न घेता सदरी लि॰ प्रा॰ नरोप पाठवितात. त्यास अिंग्रजी सरकारात कळविण्याची तजवीज करावी म्हणोन सांगितले व सातारा व मुंबअी येथे बेदाद जाहली. सबब आपला आहावाल लाट साहेब जाहीर करावा म्हणोन येक पत्रावर (वर) लिहिल्या माराचे लिहून पेशजी रसिदंट लाडअुीक साहेब याचे हते कलकत्यास पाठविले. त्याचा जबाब मिळाला नाही. सबब दुसरे पत्र लिहून लाट साहेब याजकडे पाठविण्याविसी रसिदंट वोविन साहेब याजपासी पाठवून दिल्हे. त्याणी चिठी पाठविली की असल पत्र व त्याची नक्कल पाहिल्यासिवाये पत्र रवाना करणार नाही. अिकडून जबाब दिल्हा की पेशजीचे सिरस्ते प्रा॰ लखोटा बंद करून तुम्हा जवळ दिल्हा. तुम्ही दुष्मानी जाहाली म्हणता तेव्हा तुमचे मनात पत्र पाठवावयाचे नाही. अिकडून आज परयंत पत्रे रसिदंटाकडून रवाना केली परंतू नकला दिल्हया नाहीत. (पृ. ३१) पेशजी काही रसिदंटास स्नेहयामुळे नकलही देत होतो परंतु द्याव्या आसा कायदा नाही व ते वेलेस आज्ञा केलीही नव्हत्या. सेवटी रसिदंट साहेब याणी ते पत्र माघारे पाठविले. लाट साहेब यास मार जाहीर केला पाहीजे सबब नारायेणराव शामराव मुनसी याजबरोबर पत्र देऊन कलकत्यास लाट साहेब याजकडे रवाना केला. त्याणे पत्र पाठवीले त्यात लिहिले की मटकलन साहेब याच पासी लाट साहेब यास दाखविण्याकरिता पत्र दिल्हे. त्याणी लाट साहेब यास दाखवून जबाब सांगितला की तुमचे प्रकरण मुंबअीस चालले आहे तेथे कसे होते ते

पाहून नंतर अिकडे पाहणे होअील. नंतर येक पत्र पा॑ त्यात लि॑ की लाट साहेब माहीमेस गेले आहेत तूर्त गाठ पडत नाही नंतर आम्ही पाचसात महीने वाट पाहिली. जबाब . . कळेना व आद्याप परयंत मुनसी याचे पत्र आम्हास आले नाही ते कोठे आहेत न कळे. सबब विलायतेस मंडली रवाना करण्याची योजना केली. मंडली न जाण्याविसी बहूत हरकती रसिदंटानी केल्या व पैका खराब होण्याच्या तजवीजी केल्या की प्रथम जाहजास जोर दिल्हा. त्या जाहजास मनाअी केल्या मुळे तो पैका बुडाला वगैर केल्या. ित्तक्याही सोसून सन १८३८ साली आप्रेल महिन्यात येकंदर कागदपत्र पादशाराणी व द पारनमेंट व बोरडाफ कंत्रोल व कोर्ट आफ डरेकटर यास पत्रे देअून मुंबअीहून मंडली रवाना जाहजातून केली. त्यास चालते होअून सात आठ रोज गुजरले तो आमचे धाकटे बंधू आपासाहेब माहाराज यास नरहर रघुनाथ पराडकर व बाळाजी नारायेण नातू व येशवंतराव पैनाजदार वगैर दुष्मानी लोक याणी आमची मंडळी विलायतेस गेली तेव्हा आपल्यावर (पृ. ३२) विलायतेस मार कळला म्हणजे ठपका येअील म्हणोन बंधू यास फितअून आमचे वाडयातून नेअून रसिदंट साहेब याचे बंगल्याजवळ ठेविले. बंधू याणी आपले दरोबस्त सामान वाडयातून नेते वेळेस नेहण्याविसी आटकाव केला नाही कारण रसिदंट साहेबच व्देषी लोकाचे अैकून त्यास आश्रय देतात सबब अुगेच राहीलो. हरयेक त-हेने दुष्मानदार लोक याणी रसिदंटाचे आश्रयाने आमची व आमचे नोकर लोक याची दुरमत घेतली आणि तसदी दिल्ही त्याचा बयान करू सक्त नाही आणि पहिले कानून कायद्यास बिघाड आणिला. नंतर सन १८३९ साली माहे आगस्ट महिन्यात रसिदंट वोविन सा॑ याणी याद पाठविली की गौरनर सा॑ पुण्यास आले आहेत त्याचे

भेटीस मला जाणे आहे. अिकडून अुतर लिहिले की गारनर साहेबाची व आमची भेट जाहाली पाहिजे. पेश्जीचे रसिदंटाचा कायदा आसा होता की गारनर साहेबाकडे आगर बाहीर कोठेही जाणे जाहाल्यास याद पाठवीत नव्हते. जातीने आमचे वाड्यात येअुन मुलाकात घेअुन आमचा काही मार गारनर साहेबास सांगावयाचा आहे की काय म्हणोन विच्यारीत होते. हली वर लिहिल्या प्रा प्रकार जाहाला असता मार अैकून न घेण्यास आपण न येता याद पाठविली त्यात त्याणी गारनर साहेबास येक्तपर्नी मार काय कळविला असेल न कळे. पुढे त्याच महिन्यात सर जेम्सर सिचेट गारनर कारणीक सा बाहदूर पुण्याहून डाकेने सातारीयास आले आणि तारीख २१ रोजी रसिदंट साहेब याणी माल्दाराबरोबर सांगोन पाठविले की मला भेटीस यावयाचे आहे. (पृ. ३३) हुकूम येअील त्या वेळेस येअीन. त्याज वरून दोन वाजता यावे असे सांगितले. रसिदंट साहेब येअून बोलले की गारनर सा आले आहेत. माहाराजाचे भेटीविसी च्याहातात. आम्ही सांगितले ठिक आहे. नंतर तीन वाजता रसिदंट साचे बंगल्यात स्वारी जाअुन गारनर साची भेट जाहाली ते वेळेस जवल हडरसन सा व अुल्बी सा सक्रटतार व रसिदंट होते. गारनर साहेब बोलले की माहाराजानी फितूर केला हा खरा. आम्ही अुतर केले की फितूर केला खरा कशावरून याची चौकसी करावी क्यामेटी करावी. आमचे हतचा दस्तायैवज असल्यास दाखवावा. दस्तायैवजा- नीसी लागू जाहाल्यास ठीक नाही तर अुगेच बोलून फळ काये. गारनर सा बोलले दस्ता अैवज कशास पाहीजे साक्षिदार आहेत. अिकडून अुतर जाहाले की व्देषी लोकांनी व्देषी लोकास लोभ व जरब घालून साक्षीस अुभे केले त्यास आसे साक्षीदार अुपयोगी काय. साहेब

बोलले आम्ही सारे पाहीले चौकसीचे कारण नाही व चौकसी करण्यास आम्हास फुरसद नाही. आम्ही सांगितले तुम्हास फुरसद नसल्यास चौकसी पाहण्यास दोन चांगले साहेब व रसिदंट सा० यास सांगावे. आम्ही त्यास सारे दस्तायेवजी कागदपत्र दाखवू व दुष्मानदार लोकास साक्षीदार खोटे कसे सामील जाहाले ते समजाउन देवू व दुष्मानी कशी जाहाली व चालविली हे ही कळवू. ते साहेब या साहेबास सारा मजकूर कळवितील नंतर तुम्ही अिनसाफ करावा. दस्तायेवज आमचा असल्यास दाखवावा अिकडून बोलणेच नाही व आमचे माणसाचा दस्त येवज (पृ. ३४) असल्यास दाखवावा त्याचे पारपत्य आम्ही करू. गोरनर सा० बोलले मुधोजीने पत्र माहाराजास पा० ते आम्हापासी आहे. आम्ही अुतर केले की हे आम्हास काही माहीत नाही. मुधोजीने आम्हास पत्र पाठविले तुम्ही म्हणता ते पत्र आम्हापासी आसावे ते दुसरयाचे जवल कसे. गोरनर साहेब बोलले की येलोजी मोहीते व आबा माहाडिक याजपासी आहे. अुतर जाहाले की हडरसन साहेब याचे नावे कोणी खोटे पत्र दाखविले आणि ते हडरसन सा० यास माहीत नाही तरी त्याचा जबाब हडरसन सा० याणी काय करावा. याचा जाब ज्यासी पत्र असेल त्यास विच्यारावा. त्यात मोहिते व माहडिक हे लोक लबाड यास पेंन्नेजी नागपूराहून जकीन साहेबानी घालविले. असे लोकाचे तुम्ही खरे कसे मानीता त्याचा जाबसाल त्यासच पुसावा. त्या बोलण्याचा शेवट न करीता गोरनर साहेब बोलले की माहाराजाचे वाडयात कधी संत्री आले होते की नाही. आम्ही अुतर केले नाही हे सारे लबाड आहे. त्याविसी साक्षीदार व कागद आमचे जवळ आहेत ते पाहावे. गोरनर सा० बोलले ते आमचे तीस वर्षाचे चाकर लबाड कसे बोलतील. आम्ही अुतर केले आमचे जुने चाकर फार दिवसाचे असताही

आम्हावर तुपनान घेतात त्याजपेक्षा हे आधीक आहेत कि काय. या-ही बोलण्याचा सेवट न करिता गोरनर सा॑ बोलले गोमंतकाचा गोरा कोणी माहाराजाकडे आला होता की काय. अुतर केले की कोणी आला नाही. ज्याणे तुम्हापासी सांगितले असेल त्यास विच्यारावे. आम्हास ठाअुक नाही. गोरनर सा॑ बोलले आम्हास चोकसी पाहण्यास पुनरसद नाही. आम्ही याद करीतो त्याजवर माहाराजानी सही करून द्यावी म्हणोन याद दाखवीली. त्यात कलमे पितूर केला हा खरा व ज्याणी आम्हावर खोटी तुपनाने घेतली त्यास बाहदारी आमची आसावी व नेमणुक द्यावी व आपासाहेब यास नेमणुक[२] अिंग्रजी सरकारात (पृ. ३५) द्यावी. पेशजीचे गोरनराचे दस्तायेवज नामंजूर रसिदंटाचे सत्याने सारे काम करावे अशा यादीवर सही करून द्यावी असे म्हणत होते. परंतु आम्ही अुतर केले की आम्ही पितूर केला नसता ज्या लोकानी व्देषा मुळे लबडीने पितूर केला म्हणोन खोटा मोकदमा अुभा केला व त्या लोकाच्या पेशजी पासोन लबाडी करण्याच्या गैरचालीची वाकबगारी असोन अशा लोकास बाहदारी द्यावी असे म्हणे. त्यास अशा लोकास बाहदारी आम्ही देणार नाही कारण या लोकानी खोटी तुपनाने अुत्पन्न केली. त्या लोकाची नावे व अुत्पन्न करण्याची कारणे वर लिहिलीच आहेत. अशा लोकाचे पारपत्य व्हावे ते न होता त्यास बाहदारी देवितात. असे करण्याने पुढे हे लोक आणखी मोठे सरकारचा आश्रय मिळल्यामुळे अुमे करतील नकळे. यास्तव ही गोष्ट कबूल करणार नाही व आपा साहेबाची नेमणूक ग्रांट साहेबाचे वेळे पासून आम्हीहून त्याजला देत होतो. त्याप्रा॑ देअु. बाकी पहिले गोरनराचे दस्तायेवज तुम्ही नामंजूर म्हणता तसेच दुसरापुढे गोरनर येअील तो तुमचे दस्तयेवज नामंजूर म्हणेल मग भरवसा तो कोणता.

सबब दोष नसता लिहून देणे अिकडून व्हावयाचे नाही. गोरनर साहेब बोलले मी डरकटरातील व सीरमारू वरकड गवरनर सारखे नव्हे. मजला विलायेतचा अखत्यार आहे. आम्ही पाहिजे त्याचे राज्य घेअू. सबब माहाराजानी आमचे बुजुर्गीवर नजर देअून सही करावी. आमचे अैकावे नाहीतर माहाराजाचे राज्य राहणार नाही. माहाराजास कासीस घेअून जाअू. माहाराजाचे बाजीराया प्रा॰ होअील पुन्हा राज्य मिलावयाचे नाही. आम्ही येक वेळा माफ करीतो. आम्ही अुतर केले की अिंग्रजी सरकारात राज्य राहील. अंदेशा (पृ. २६) दूर जाहल्यावर आम्ही जवळच आहो. गोरनर साहेब बोलले माहाराजानी वकिल मुंबअीस ठेविले तहनामा तोडला. आम्ही अुतर केले की रसिदंटावर काही बोलणे असल्यास वकिल पाठवावा असे पत्र अिलपिस्तन साहेबाचे आहे व त्या प्रमाणे वहिवाट ही होत आली तेव्हा आम्ही वकिल ठेविल्यामुळे तहनामा तोडला असे होत नाही. गोरनर सा॰ बोलले अिलपिस्तन साहेबाची पत्रे नामंजूर. अिकडून अुतर आले की अिलपिस्तन साहेब याणी आमल मिळविला आणि येखत्यारीने दस्तायेवज खातरी करीता करून देअून सर्वास अनकुल करून घेतले. त्याणी दस्तायेवज दिल्हे ते कसे नामंजूर क्यामेटी करावी. चौकसी अंती आमचे नावी गुन्हा लागू जाहाल्यास दोस्तीत आम्ही गुन्हा केला असे जाहल्यास तोफेचा बार भरून आता गोळा घालावा. आम्ही तोफेपुढे पाहीजेल्तर अुभे राहून अुडून जाअू. नाहीतर ग्रांट सा॰ प्रा॰ खातरी होअी तो परयंत रसिदंट साहेबानी काम पाहावे आगर असी खातरी करून घ्यावयाची असेल तसी घ्यावी. येविसी यादच पेशजी आमचे दिवाण कैद केले त्याचे चौकसीचे वेळेस लाडअुीक सा॰ रसिदंट व अुलबी साहेब सकटतार व वोविन साहेब याजपासी चार कलमाची

याद दिल्ही आहे तो मजकूर सदरी लिो आहे त्या प्रो पाहीजे तर करावे. असी बहूतेक प्रकारेची बोलण्याची मेहनत अिनसाफन करण्या-करीता केली आणि सांगितले की हली आम्ही बंगल्यास आलोच आहो पाहीजे तर माघारे जात नाही. तुमचेच कोचा शेजारी कोच घालून येथेच निजू. घर्माकरीता मात्र बाहेर येक तंबू देअून देवाजी पूजा व भोजन करू. राज्य तुम्ही सांभाळावे कारण की तुम्ही अिनसाफनच करीत नाही म्हणता त्या आर्थी अुद्यातरी तुम्ही राज्य घेणारच तेव्हा तुम्ही जाल तिकडे तुमचे बरोबर (पृ. ३७) येअून खर्चाविसी वगैर तुम्हास तोसीस लागणार नाही. पाहीजेल तर तुमचे संत्री बरोबर घेअून भिक्षा मागू परंतू आमचा अिनसाफन करावा. याचे अुत्तर न देता गोरनर साहेब बोलले माहाराजानी डाक्तर मिलन साहेब यास किती पैका दिल्हा. अुत्तर जाले आम्ही काही त्यास पैका दिल्हा नाही व त्याणीही आम्हास मागितला नाही. जे पैका देअून तुफाने करणारे लोक अिनसाफन केला म्हणजे समजण्यात येतील. लाडअुीक सो रसिदंट जात्यापासून आज परयंत वोवीसन साहेब याजला बहूत प्रकारे मार समजाअून दिल्हे परंतू काहीच मनास आणून फैसल न होअी. सबब दोस्त साहेब लोक यासही सांगितले होते की आमचा मार खरा असता अैकून घेतला नाहीत त्यास येविसीतजवीज जसी करणे असेल तसी करावी व डाक्तर मिलन साहेब याजकडून गोरनर ग्रांट सो यास मुंबअीत मार समजाविण्याकरीता कोणी मनुष्य कागदपत्र सुध्दा त्याज-कडे पाठअून दिल्हे होते त्याचे अैकून घेअिनात सबब त्याणी मुंबअी कोसलातून कलकत्ता व विलायेतेस वर लिहिले माराची पत्रे लिहून पाठविली होती. त्याचे काहीच ज्वाब मिळाले नाहीत. (येविसी कोर्ट डरेक्टरयाचे यादीत लिहिले आहे की माहाराजाचे वाजवी काम

पाहण्यात हर(क)त व्हावयाची नाही. खुसी आहे.)[२] सबब काही मंडळी विलायेतेस रवाना केली. गारनर साहेबानी अुतर केले की ते छोकरे आहेत त्याचे हातून काय होणार आहे. पाहीजे तर माहाराजानी आणखी कोणी पाठवावयाचे असल्यास पाठवावे. आम्हाकडून हरक्त नाही. व कोगन साहेब यास माहाराजानी कीती पैका दिल्हा. अुतर जाले की त्याणी अिकडे येअून मार समजोन घेअून तुम्हास कळवावा सबब खर्चीस पच्यविसशे रुपये दिल्हे. ते तुम्हापासी मार बोलले असता तुम्ही मार अैकून घेतला नाही व त्यास अिकडे येअू दिल्हे नाही. गारनर साहेब बोलले माहाराजानी अुगाच पैसा खराब केला (पृ. ३८) याणे काय व्हावयाचे आहे. आम्ही अुतर केले की तुम्ही मारच अैकून ध्याना व मनास आणाना याजकरीता कोणतेही त-हेने आपला सारा आहावाल अिंग्रजी सरकारात जाहीर व्हावा याजकरीता बहुत प्रकारच्या तजवीजी केल्या व हली ही तुम्ही अिनसाफ करित नाही म्हणता तेव्हा लाचारी आहे. गारनर साहेब बोलले की माहाराजानी येक जाहाज खरीदी घेतले होते म्हणोन अैकीले ते कशा करिता घेतले व हली ते कोठे आहे. अुतर जाले की विलायेतेस मंडळी रवाना करण्याकरिता घेतले होते. गारनर साो बोलले मग त्या जाहजात का मंडली बसोन गेली नाही. अुतर केले की दुसरे जाहाज फारबस कंपीणी याचे विद्यमाने मिळाले त्या जाहजात बसोन मंडळी गेली तेव्हा ते जाहाज तसेच राहीले. गारनर साो बोलले ते जाहाज हली चिनास आहे. अुतर जाले की व्यापाराने गेले असल्यास असेल. गारनर साहेब बोलले की त्या जाहजास आता माहाराज काय करणार. अुतर जाले की मंडळी गेली त्याचे हातून काय होते ते पाहून जाहल्यास आम्ही त्यात बसोन विलायतेस जाणार असे बोलोन

स्वारी परत आली. दुसरे दिवसी रसिदंट सा॰ आमचे वाडयात आले आणि सिदरहू याद दाखविली. त्यात फितूर केला ही अक्षरे मोडून बदनजर ठेविली असे लिहीले होते व बाजाबा पराडकर यास बाहदारी आसावी व आणखी आम्ही ज्यास बाहदारी देण्यास सांगू त्यास द्यावी हे जाजती लिा॰. अिकडून रसिदंट यास अुतर जाले की येवीसीचे बोलणे तुमचे समक्ष गारनर साहेबासी जाहालेच आहे तेच बोलणे कायम. अिकडून अिंग्रजी सरकारचे दोस्तीत कोणेवीसी खलेल आणिलीच नाही व तहनामाही लाट साहेबाचे सहीचाच आहे. नवीन यादीचे कारण कोणते (पृ. ३९) बाकी सदरी लिहिले प्रा॰च बोलणे जाहाले. आम्ही रसिदंट साहेबास बोललो याद ठेवावी. आम्ही वाचून पाहून याचे जवाब देअू असे बोललो असता रसिदंट साहेब बोलले की याद ठेवणे विसी गारनर साहेब याचा हुकुम नाही. यादीवर गारनर साहेबानी आपले खुषीने सही केली आहे तेव्हा माहाराजानी ही सही करून द्यावी. सही करून आणावी आसा हुकुम आहे. माहाराज सही करून देत नाहीत तेव्हा मी याद घेअून परत जातो. अिकडून अुतर जाले की तुम्ही रसिदंटीवर आल्यापासोन आमचे सांगणे हेच होते की सारा मार अेकून ध्यावा ठदेषी लोकाचे समजाविण्या प्रा॰ येक्तर्फी होअू नये परंतू त्या प्रा॰ तुम्ही काहीच न करीता असा प्रकार आज पर्यंत केला. हली तरी गारनर सा॰ याचे येणे कैसल सुा॰ जाले आहे त्या आर्थी गारनर सा॰ अिनसाफ पाहण्यास फुरसद नाही म्हणतात तेव्हा तुम्ही सारा मार समजोन द्यावा व काही तुम्हास माहीतही आहेच तरी गारनर साहेब यास समजाअून देअून फैसल केला असता यात तुमची नामदारी आहे. असे बहुतेक प्रकारे समजोन सांगीतले असता गारनर साहेबा प्रा॰ अुतरे केली. शेवटी बोलले की गारनर साहेबापासीच बोलणे मजकडे

काय आहे असे बोलले. अुतर जाले की तुम्ही रसिदंट साहेब पूर्वी तुम्हास सुचविले आहे व हली ही कळविले नंतर रसिदंट सा॰ याद आणिली होती ती घेअून परत जाते वेलेस (बोलला की ज्या वेलेस रसिदंटीचे कामावर आला ते वेलेस सांगितले की जे करणे ते चौकसी पाहूनच कराल ते आम्हास कळवावे. ते तुम्ही कबूल केले की तसेच करू त्या प्रा॰ काही येक केले नाही. तुम्ही व अुल्बीनी चौकसी खोटी केली ती खरी होण्याकरीता आश्विन मासी तुम्ही अिकडून काही नसता कीबे याजबरोबर सांगून पाठविले की अिंग्रजी सरकारचा व माहाराज सरकारचा बिघाड जाला. माहाराजानी कोणी बोलण्यास अिकडे पाठअू नये व गवरनर साहेबाकडे आगाअू जाअून तुम्ही व अुल्बी याणे समजाअून गवरनर साहेबानी अिकडिल न येकावे व अिनसाफ व लेख सुधा वगैर चाल वहिवाट न पाहवी)[३] गेले. तेच दिवसी स्वारी बंगल्यास जाअून गौरनर वगैर साहेब लोक यास ते दिवसी राख्याचा दिवस होता. सबब राख्या देअुन यादीविसी रसिदंटासी बोलणे जाहाले त्या प्रा॰च बोलला. तो मार वर लिहिलाच आहे. गौरनर सा॰ बोलले की यादीवर सही न केली तरी माहाराजाचे राज्य जाअील व माहाराजास बनारसीस पाठअू. कलकत्याहून फार सख्त हुकुम आला होता परंतु त्यात मी फार मेहनत करून सही करण्याचे ठरविले आहे. (पृ. ४०) आम्ही अुतर केले की अिनसाफाखेरीज जबरीने सही करून मागू लागल्यास आम्ही देणार नाही. गौरनर साहेब बोलले चिटणीसानी विलायेतेस वकिल पाठविण्याची माहाराजास बदसल्ला दिल्ही. अुतर केले की आम्ही सला कोणाचीच अैक्त नाही. चिटणिसानी आम्हास सला काय द्यावयाची आहे. तुम्ही अितकी मेहनत घेअून आलात तत्रापी वाजवी खेरीज तुमचे अैक्त नाही तेव्हा चिटणिस हे

आपले घरातून येऊन आम्हास सला सांगणार त्याची भलतीच सला आम्ही अैकू की काय. दुसरे दिवसी प्रातः काली स्वारी रपेटीस गेली तेथे रसिदंट साहेब यास बोलाऊन येकीकडे बहुत प्रकारे समजोन सांगितले असता गारनर साहेबा प्रो।च जबाब केले. ते सदरी लिा।च आहेत परत येता वाटेने गारनर साहेब मेटले. त्यासही सांगितले की रसिदंट वा विसन साहेब याजपासी काही मार सांगितला आहे ते साहेबास कळवितील. गारनर साहेब बोलले ठीक आहे. नंतर तारिख २६ आगष्ट दुसरे दिवसी स्वारी रसिदंट साहेबाचे बंगल्यास जाऊन बरोबर पुराव्या पैा कागद जे पेशजी बालाजी कासी किबे रसिदंटयाचे हाताखालील कारकूण व बाळाजी नारायेण नातू याणी आमचे जामदार खान्यातील जामदार नानू मंडारी व कामगार याचे निसबतीचे कारकून विश्वनाथ व रंगराव व आणा सिदंकर व हैबतराव व बापूजी आनंदराव हताखालील अुमेदवार कारकून यास फूस लाऊन त्याजपासोन खोटी पत्रे लिहून त्याजवर आमचे नावचा सिका होता तो चोरून घेअुन करविला ती बातमी आम्हास लागल्यावर त्या लोकास कैद करून त्याची चौकसी केली. त्याणी जबान्या लिहून दिल्हया त्याचा बयान खाली आहे की आम्हास नातू व किबे याणी सांगितले की तुम्ही फितुराचा मार लिहून खोटी पत्रे तयार करून सिके जामदार (पृ. ४१) खान्यात असतात ते बार करून आम्हास द्यावी. याबद्दल तुम्हास बक्षीस रुा ५०००० पन्नास हजार व दाहा हजाराचा अिनाम देऊ. आम्ही अुतर केले की हे माहाराजास समजले असता आमची डोचकी जातील. नातू व किबे याणी सांगितले की येवीसी पाहीजे तर रसिदंट साहेबाकडून सांगवितो म्हणोन रसिदंट याजकडे घेऊन गेले. साहेब याणी सांगितले की नातू व किबे सांगतात त्या प्रो। काम करावे व किबे सांगतात त्या प्रो। काम करावे तुमचे

नातू प्रमाणे मोठे नाव अिंग्रजी सरकारात होअील. त्याजवरून आम्ही
किबे व नातू याचे सांगण्या प्रा। ही पत्रे तयार केली. परंतु नातू व
किबे याणी करारा प्रा। आम्हास रना। बक्षीस अिनाम गाव देअिनात.
सबब आम्ही पत्रे दिल्ही नव्हती पुन्हा वोविन साहेब रसिदंटीवर
आल्यानंतर नातू व किबे याणी वोवीसन साहेबाकडे आम्हास घेअून गेले
आणी लाडअुआीक्साहेबा प्राोच सांगविले नंतर आम्ही पत्रे देण्याच्या
तजवीजीत होतो. अितकीयात हा मार सरकारात समजल्या वरून
ते सरकारानी आम्हास कैद केले आणि आम्हा पासोन कागद घेतले.
रसिदंट साहेब व नातू व किबे याचे सांगणे होते की माहाराजावर दोष
लागू होत नाही तरी तुम्ही फितुराचा मार लाअून पत्रे सिक्याची
तयार करून आणोन द्यावी म्हणजे माहाराजावर आज्ञाने तरी फितूर
लागू होअील. या प्रा। त्या लोकानी जबान्या व परसिसाची अुतरे
लिहून दिल्ही त्यात मार आहे नंतर ती पत्रे व त्याजबद्दल ....(?)
माराची पत्रे बालाजी कासी किबे याचे पुतण्याचे हतची आणा सिंदकर
व हैबतराव यास आली ती असल त्याचे घरी होती ती आम्ही आणली
व काही त्याणी आणोन दिल्ही, त्याच्या व खोटी पत्रे केली
त्याच्या व जामदार व कारकून यांच्या जबान्यांच्या नक्ला अशा
गोरनर साहेबा जवल दिल्हया. त्याचे जवल कागद रसिदंट (पृ. ४२)
साहेबानी वाडयातून येकंदर कागद नेले त्यात आहेत ते व सातारा
येथील पल्टणात रदाक सा। म्हणोन येक साहेब होता त्याणे जे वेलेस
गोविंदराव विठल यास कैद केले त्याची चौकसी कमिशनर साहेब येअून
जाहाली त्यात माहाराजाचे जागी काही कसूर लागू होत नाही तेव्हा
अिंग्रजी सरकारात कलले असता ठपका रसिदंटावर येअील. सबब कोणते-
ही त-हेने फितूर माहाराजावर शाबूद होअी ते करावे याजकरीता

माझू लेले म्हणोन येक ब्राम्हण शेहरात पोट भरून होता त्याजला रदाक सा॰ याणी बोलाऊन सांगितले की माहाराजाचे दस्तका सारखा आगर माहाराजाचे कारभारी लोक याचे दस्ता सारखा कागद पित्तूर प्रकरणी नविन आम्हास आणोन द्यावा म्हणजे आम्ही तुम्हास बक्षीस रुपये व अिनामगाव अिंग्रजी सरकारातून देऊ. त्याज वरून लेले याणी अुत्तर केले की आणोन देतो परंतू तुम्ही जबरदस्त.कागद घेऊन बोलण्या प्रा॰ मजला बक्षीस न दिल्हयास कसे याजकरिता तुम्ही आपले स्वदस्तुराची चिठी बक्षीस व अिनामगाव देअीन असी लिहा द्यावी म्हणजे दस्ता अैवज तुम्ही बोलल्या प्रा॰ आणोन देतो. त्याज वरून रदाक सा॰ याणी त्याचे म्हण्या प्रा॰ चिठी आपले स्वदस्तुरची वर अिंग्रजी लिपी व खाली पांडु केावरी कारकून रदाक सा॰ याचा त्याचे हतचे मराठी असी आपले सहीची चिठी लेले यास दिल्ही. नंतर हा मार आम्हास कळला तेव्हा आम्ही लेले यास बोलाऊन आणोन विच्यारिता कबूल जाहाला आणि बोलला की रदाक सा॰ याजपासी दस्ता अैवज आणोन देतो म्हणोन कबूल केले खरे, आम्ही बोललो तू कबूल केलेस परंतु दस्तअैवज कोठून आणोन देणार. त्याणे अुत्तर केले की पेशजी वाअी पेठा येथे येक ब्राम्हण कारकून लक्ष्मण बागाजी बेहेरे होता. त्याणे दिवाण याचे आक्षरासारखे अक्षर लिहून चिठी तेथील मामलेदार यास दिवाण म्हणोन देऊन (पृ. ४१) लबडीने आपले काम करून घेतले. पुढे त्या चिठीचा मार मामलेदार सातार मुकामी आला ते वेळेस दिवाण यास कळविले की आपण स्वदस्तुरची चिठी पाठ त्याप्रमाणे काम करून दिल्हे. दिवाण याणी अुत्तर केले मजला हा मार माहीत नाही व आम्ही असे करीत नाही व आम्ही आपले स्वदस्तुरची चिठी पाठवावी आसा कायदाही नाही. नंतर हा

मार सरकारात दिवाण याणी कळविला. सरकारातून त्या ब्राम्हणास आणोन सजा देऊन सोडून दिल्हा. हा मार मजला माहीत होता तेव्हा लक्ष्मण बागाजी बेहेरे याचे हतचा खोटा दस्त अेवज दिवाण याचे नावे फितूरी मार लिहून रदाक सा॑ यास देऊन त्याणी लिहून दिल्हया प्रा॑ तरी चौकीस यावे असा बेत केला होता परंतू त्याचा शोध केला तो तो हाली येथे नाही त्याचे शोधास माणसे पाठविली आहेत. हली सरकारात हा मार कळला हे वर्तमान साहेब यास कळले असता मी जीवानीसी मारला जाओन माझा बच्याव खावंदानी करावा. अिकडून अुतर जाले की तूर्त आम्ही हा मार रसिदंट साहेबास कळवीत नाही परंतु कारण पडेल तेव्हा रुजवात करून द्यावी. अिंग्रजी सरकारातून तुजला अिजा न होओी असे आम्ही करू. नंतर त्याणे ही या प्रा॑ माझा बच्याव जाहाला असता साहेब लोकाचे समक्ष रुजवात करीन असे लिहा दिल्हे व रदाक साहेबाचे सहीची चिठी त्याणे घेतली ती व लेले यास दिडसे रुपये रदाक सा॑ याणी खर्चास दिल्हे ते देखील त्याणे आम्हापासी दिल्हे. रदाक सा॑ याची असल चिठी व त्याणे आम्हापासी लिहून दिल्हा तो कागद रसिदंटानी येकंदर कागद नेले त्यात आहे. त्या कागदाच्या नकला व सदरी सिक्याचे खोटे पत्रांचा मार लिहिला आहे ते कागद आशा कागदाच्या (पृ. ४४) नकला मराठी व सदरी मार लिहिला आहे याचे हसीलाचा अिंग्रजी तरजमा गेार-नर साहेब याजपासी दिल्हा आणी सांगितले की हे कागद साहेबानी येकीकडे मनन करून पाहीले म्हणजे व्देषी लोकानी कसा खोटा मोकद्दमा अुभा केला यात आम्हाकडे काही कसूर आहे किंवा नाही हे सारे साहेबाचे दिलात येओील आणी अिनसाफ पाहतील.

असे दिलात आणोन कागद दिल्हे परंतु गोरनर याणी काहीच मनास आणिले नाही गंगाधर जोसी म्हणोन येक ब्राम्हण सातारीयात आला होता त्याणे मी मुंबअी येथे फितूर करून ठेविला आहे मुंबअी घेअून देतो असे रामजी खडसरे देवपुजे याजपासी बोलला त्याणे सरकारात खबर दिल्ही. नंतर त्या ब्राम्हणास आम्ही कैद करून त्याज पासोन जबान्या लिहून घेतल्या त्यांत त्याणे लिा दिल्हे की मजला लाडअुअीक साोनी सांगितले होते की याप्रो कर म्हणजे आम्ही तुजला धरून कैद करू. मग तू बोले की मजला माहाराजानी सांगितले होते. त्याजवरून मी आलो पाहीजे तर मजला साहेबाकडे पाो द्यावे मी कैदेत कधी राहणार नाही. नंतर त्याचे जबानाचा नकला व त्याजला लाडअुअीक साो रसिदंट याजकडे पाठअून दिल्हा. त्याची चोकसी न करीता त्यास परत अिकडे पाठवीला याणी यादीचे अुत्तर येते की असे लोक पोटा साठी करीतात. असे अुत्तर येते तेव्हा त्याचे लिहून देण्यास म्लेच् (?) दिसतो पुढे आम्ही त्यास सोडोन दिल्हा आणि बलवंतराव राजे भाो सेनापती व दिनकरराव माो सेनाकर्ते याच बरोबर लाडअुअीक साो याजकडे सांगोन पाठविले की तुम्हावर जे लोक असे करीतात आणि आम्हावर जे लोक बोलतात ते मात्र खरे, गोविंदराव विठल याचे चोकसीचे वेळेस संत्री व खुशालीसमतगार गोविंदराव याचा व घाऱ्या ब्राम्हण शेहरातील रयत हे गोविंदराव याजवर (पृ. ४५) तुफान रचना करून आम्हावर फितूर सिध्द करण्याचे ज्याज्यासी बोलत होते ते माहादू भोसला व आणा माचगावकर शेहरातील रयत व हरी अुगले व आणखी लोक घारे याचा माअू वगैर याणी पेसजीचे संत्रीचे गैरचालीवीसीच्या जबान्या लिहून दिल्हया त्या सुध्दा तिघा साहेबापासी रजू करून दिल्हे असता

त्याची चौकशी न करता आमचे दुष्मानाचे खरे मानीता हे कसे. असे बोलले परंतु लाडऑीक साहेबानी ऑुतर केले नाही. नंतर सेनापती व सेनाकर्ते बोलले की तुम्ही रसिदंट असता अिनसाफ करीत नाही हे काय, रसिदंट साहेब बोलले गेारनर साहेबानी चौकशीस ऑुलवी सा॰ व वेावीन साहेब पाठविले माझा ऑुपाय काय. तसाच चांद बोहरी म्हणोन येक मुसलमान गेामंतकाहून फितूर करण्यास सातारीयास आला. तेा जीवन बोहरी सातारीयात होता त्याज मागेान अिकडे आला. अिकडून ऑुमयेताच्या जबाब्या घेऑून त्याच्या नक्ला सुद्धा ऑुमयेतास कैद करून रसिदंट वेावीन साहेब याजकडे पाठवून दिल्हा. आणि याद पाठविली त्यात लिहीले होते की त्याची चौकशी करून अिकडे कळवावे व असे फितूर ऑुत्पन्न कशाने होतात याची चौकशी पाहावी. असे लिा॰ असता परभारे सोडून देतात आणि अिकडे त्याचा पुन्हा मार कळविला नाही असे कितेक प्रकारचे मार व कागद होते परंतु सदरी लिहिलेले कागद गेारनर साहेबापासी दिल्हे परंतु त्याणी त्याचा तपास केला नाही. तारीख २७ आगस्ट रोजी सायंकाळी पाच वाजता रसिदंट वेावीसन सा॰ येऑून समक्ष बोलले की ऑुद्या गेारनर सा॰ आठ वाजता जाणार. यादी विसी आहे तेच मुकरार आहे किंवा कसे म्हणेान गेारनर सा॰ याणी विचारीले आहे. अिकडून ऑुतर जाले की आहे तेच मुकरार आहे. रसिदंट सा॰ बोलले (पृ. ४६) गेारनर साहेब याणी सांगितले की माहाराजानी जे कागद दिल्हे त्यात यादीचे ऑुतराविसीचा मार नाही. अिकडून ऑुतर जाले की गेारनर सा॰ याणी ते कागद वाचून पाहीले म्हणजे समजेल. नंतर रसिदंट साहेब निघोन बंगल्यास गेले. दुसरे दिवसी गेारनर साहेब काहीयेक दरयाफ्ती न करिता निघोन

पुण्यास गेले आणि आठ दिवसा नंतर तेथून पलटणे पाठऊन दिल्ही. तारिख ५ सपटेंबरी रसिदंट वेवीन सा॑ याणी पाहाटेचे दोन घटका रात्रीस आपले पलटणाची तोफा सुा तयारी करून बार भरून आदालत सिकेंदर तुरुप तोफखाना येथे सिबंदी व साहेब लोक व तोफा पाठऊन येक पलटण व तोफा आपण जातीनीसी घेऊन येऊन वाडयास वेढा घालून वाडयात आले. तीन वाजता पूर्वीच सदरहू मार आमचे समजुतीस आल्या मुळे आम्ही हुशार होतो. अिकडिल पदरची मंडळी मराठे क्षत्रीय मानकरी वगैर तमाम फौज हरत-हेची जमीयत थोडी बहूत होती व आणखीही जमाव केला असता व्हावया जोगा होता. परंतु दोस्तीवर नजर देऊन लढाअी करावयाची नाही असे मनात आणोनच तीन वर्षाचे पूर्वी गोविंदराव किल यास नेल्हे त्या दिवसा पासोन बलवंतराव राजे भा॑ सेनापती यास हुकुम जाहाला होता की तमाम फौजेत ताकिद करावी की अिंग्रजी सरकारचे सिपाअी अगर चप्रासी किंवा कोणी शेहरात अगर वाडयात किंवा कोठेही आले असता त्याजला मनाअी करू नये व त्यासी तंटा करू नये कारण सिपाअी याणी वगैर तंटा केला असता रसिदंट लढाअी केली असे निमित्य ठेऊन पुढे अिनसापनास आमचे खरे असता खोटे होअील. सबब दारू वगैर तोफखान्यात व फौजेत आगदी ठेऊ नये आसा हुकुम देऊन व त्या प्रा॑ अिकडिल सरदार वगैर याणी ही तंटा न करिता हुकमावर नजर देऊनच राहीले. रसिदंट सा॑ वाडयात येऊन माहाराज कोठे आहेत म्हणोन हक मारली नंतर आम्ही जबाब दिल्हा की माडिवर यावे. तेव्हा बोले की माहाराजानीच खाली (पृ. ४७) यावे नंतर स्वारी खाली आली. सलाम करून रसिदंट सा॑ बोलले गौरनर साहेबाचा हुकुम आहे की

माहाराजानी निंब गावास चलावे. आम्ही राज्याचा व मालीयेती चा व वाडयाचा बंदोबस्त करीतो. माहाराजानी स्वस्त आसावे मीऊ नये. अिकडून अुतर जाले की आम्ही काही कोणाचे घेतले नाही व ज्यावया जोगे काही केले नाही. बाजीराव याचे लढाअीत हजारो पैनाजाची गर्दी व लढाअीचे प्रसंगात गोळ्याचा पाऊस पडत असता जीवाची परवा न धरिता दोस्ती खातर मंडली सुद्धा जनरेल स्मिथ साहेबाचे लस्करात मिसलो ते वेळेस ज्यालो नाही ते असे प्रसंगात कशास मिऊ. राज्याचा व मालीयेतीचा व वाडयाचा व कागदपत्राचा बंदोबस्त तुम्ही करीतो म्हणता त्यापेक्षा अिंग्रजी सरकारचे स्वाधीन आहे. नंतर कागदाचे खोलीस रसिदंट सा॥ यांणी कुलुप घालोन मोहर केली. बाहेर आम्हाकडिल मनुष्य हरसिंग चव्हाण होता. माहालच्या स्वा-या वाडयात असता कुलपे काढून रसिदंट साहेबानी सारे कागद आपले बंगल्यास नेले. माहालाकडे मात्र कोणी जाऊ नये म्हणोन वासुदेव केशव आगटे यास संत्रीचे सुभेदार बरोबर देऊन पाहारे बसविले नंतर रसिदंटाचे स्वाधीन सारे करून बलवंतराव राजे भो॥ सेनापती व आम्ही येक वस्त्रानीसी बाहीर पडलो. बाहीर संत्री व क्रिष्टील सा॥ सुध्दा साहेब लोक व स्वार होते. निंब गावास येऊन पोहोचलो. तेथे पोहचताच चिठी पुढे कर्तव्याचा भाव कसा तो समजावा म्हणजे त्या प्रा॥ करीता येअील म्हणोन पाठविली. नंतर मागाहून काही सामान जेवणाची भांडी व राहुट्या पाठऊन दिल्हया. हती घोडे वगैर आले त्या पा॥ सारे हती व काही घोडे परत रसिदंट सा॥ ची याद येऊन नेले. पंधरा दिवसांनी माहालच्या स्वा-या आल्या त्याजबरोबर त्याचे काही सामान फिर्‍रिस्त लाऊन घेऊन झाडे घेऊन दिल्हे. त्यास आम्ही

निवास आल्यावर अजा दिल्ही त्याचा बयान खाली आलाहिदा (पृ. ४८) लिहिला जात आहे. रसिदंट साहेबानी जामदार खान्यास वगैर कुलपे घालून मोहरा करून फैजाज व आदालत सुधा बंदोबस्त करून येक साहेब लोक वाडयात फैजाजे सुद्धा ठेऊन सारे मालीयतेची मोजदाद केली. त्याचे फेरिस्त त्या साहेबाचे सहीचे रसिदंट याजपासी आहे तारिख ५ रोजी चिठीचा जबाब आला की जे सामान लागेल ते घेऊन जावे परंतु कारखान्यास कुलपे याजमुळे सामान आले नाही. पुन्हा सदरहू मारारची याद लिहा त्याचा जबाब तारिख हसन मारी आला त्यातील तीसरे कलमात लिहितात की खासबाब वगैर माराचे लिहो त्यास सरकारचा हुकुम आहे तो कलविण्याकरीता लिहीतो की आपला माल सरकारी माला खेरीज मुकरार खासगत असेल तो आपल्यास पावेल असे आपणच लिहितात परंतु अद्याप मिळाला नाही आणि आपणच अटकाव करितात मागाहून न देण्याबद्दल बंधूचे वाटणीची सबब लावितात. त्यास मातुश्री असता वडिलाचे केलेचे मालीयेतीच्या वाटण्या जाहाल्या येविसीचा मारर कासी सिवराम वैद्य व गोपाळपंत तासगावकर व चिंतामण चिटको भाटे व विसाजी व्यंकटेश सेवडे व बवजी रामचंद्र वैद्य यास माहीत आहे. आम्ही आलीकडे बंधूस काय चीजवस्तु दिल्ही त्याचे जिन्स झाडयाचे पत्रक पदमाकर रघुनाथ पराडकर यांचे हतचे आहे. संशये असल्यास पराडकर व पत्रक आले म्हणजे समजेल.

(अपूर्ण)

१ आधी विलायतेस असे लिहीले होते ते खोडून कलकत्यास असे लिहीले आहे.

२ हा मजकुर वेगळया शाईत कदाचित नंतर लिहीला असावा.

३ हा मजकुर वेगळया शाईत कदाचित नंतर लिहीला असावा.

According to the treaty of 25th September, 1819, the boundaries of the Satara State were decided. All the chiefs who held their jagirs within the boundaries of the new state, were placed under the Raja of Satara at their own request, on receiving a special guarantee from the British Government for the preservations of their rights and privileges.

James Grant, the first political agent at Satara, entered into separate treaties with all the six Jagirdars of Satara and they were told that all transactions affecting their interests were to be regulated in concert with the Resident. Raja Pratapsinha also entered into separate treaties with all the six Jagirdars. These treaties continued in force until 1839 when by article 3rd of the supplemental treaty made with Raja Shahaji under date the 4th September 1839, these Jagirdars were placed under the direct management and control of the British Government; their contingent and pecuniary payments as fixed by the engagements of 1820,

being served to Raja Shahaji.

The six Jagirdars under Satara were,

1) Pratinidhi of Aundh,
2) Pant Sachiv of Bhor,
3) Raja of Akkalkot,
4) Nimbalkar of Phaltan,
5) Daphale of Jath, and
6) Shaikh Mira of Wai

Some of these chiefs traced their descent back to the earliest period of the Maratha history; others were the representatives of the hereditary counsellors and the aristocracy of Shivaji and his descendants. The holdings of the Raja of Akkalkot and of Pant Pratinidhi were considered to be entirely jagir. Those of Pant Sachiv of the Nimbalkar and of the Daphale were partly jagir and partly watan and inam and that of Shaikh Mira was partly jagir and partly inam.[1] The nature of the tenure was defined by the engagement entered into in 1820 with the British Government and with the Raja of Satara. In failure of direct male heirs adoption was customary but that must be sanctioned both by the British Government and the Raja of Satara. Elphinstone adopted the following rule regarding adoption: "in all cases where there are relation or descendants of

the Moolpoorush (original stock) adoption should be allowed. Where there are no such descendants, it may be a subject of consideration whether adoption should be permitted".[2] The right of escheat as regards the jagir appertained to the Raja of Satara for whatever portion of it might be within his limits and to the British Government for whatever portion might be within the Company's country. The watan and inam being hereditary property reverted in all cases to the family of the deceased.[3]

1. Pratinidhi of Aundh

The agreement between Pant Pratinidhi and the British Government was dated 22nd April 1820[4] and the chief articles of the agreement were as follows:

His possessions were freely bestowed and restored in the same manner as they were held up to the period of the war but as the greater part of the country of him was within the limits of the territory. Pratinidhi therefore was placed under the Government of Satara. He was not bound to furnish any contingent of horse to the Satara Raja, but that a sum of Rs. 2,000 annually was to be paid by him to the Satara Raja, instead of to the Pant Sachiv - all his rights within the British and Satara country were guaranteed to him, and in like manner all existing

rights within jagir were to be continued - justice to be properly administered and good police maintained - all criminals to be mutually given up - and no extra troops levied - all disputes and other points to be referred to the Raja of Satara, who within the advice of the Resident, would decide and these decisions to be binding, and finally no intercourse or communication was to be entered into with any persons not subjects of the Satara Government and this last stipulation was declared to be the basis of the agreement which, if departed from the jagir would not be continued. The last article of the treaty was that the Pratinidhi must appear in personal attendance on His Highness, Pratapsinha at the festival of the Dasara.

The Pratinidhi was the officer of the highest dignity under the old Maratha dynasty. He ranked above all eight pradhans even above the Peshwa himself. This rank was instituted about the year 1690 during the period of Rajaram.

The Chief of this Jagir was Parashuram Shrinivas whose residence was Kasaba Aundh.

The jagir of Pratinidhi was made up of various estates scattered throughout the Satara territory. The only large piece of integral land in the possession of the chief was the Atpadi Mahal, containing about 300 square miles, which was surrounded by the

Pandharpur, Khatav, and Khanapur Petas of the Satara State.[5] His jagir consisted of 92 villages of which the population was estimated (in 1838) at about 36,000 souls and the revenue about Rs. 92,000 annually.[6]

Pant Pratinidhi possessed a jagir of two lakhs of rupees which was estimated as follows:

Atpadi	51,977- 8-0
24 villages of pargana of Bagewadi	61,574-10-1
Karyat Audh	12,770-10-3
Subha Karad	22,228-11-0
Babtee of Bijapur	51,389- 1-0
	20,000- 0-0[7]

From this estimate submitted to the British Government his actual annual income was Rs.65,379-12-0 after deducting the collection charges. Thus the actual receipts from each part was as below:

Atpadi	22,278-14-0
24 villages of the pargana Bagewadi	12,406-13-2
Karyat Audh	9,115-11-2
Subha Karad	20,878- 5-0
Babtee of Bijapur	700- 0-0
	65,379-12-0[8]

The revenue of the jagir for 1842-43 was Rs. 68,202 and the expenses were Rs. 68,202.[9]

The military force of the Pratinidhi was as follows:

30	Horsemen armed and dressed as Marathas receiving monthly allowance not exceeding Rs. 25.
42	Soldiers originally Christians from Goa partially drilled and armed as British soldiers receiving Rs. 6 and 7 monthly pay.
115	Shibandis employed at Aundh and in the districts armed with match locks and swords receiving Rs. 4 and 5 monthly pay.
300	Seth Sandis a species of militia paid by assignments of land. These men are armed like the shibandis and perform the same duties.

487	Total horse and foot[10]

The internal administration of the jagir was satisfactory, which was principally entrusted to the management of Krishnarao Tatya Joshi. The police was on the same footing as that in the Satara country.

2. Pant Sachiv of Bhor

An engagement also existed between the Pant Sachiv and the British Government. It was dated 22nd April 1820. It was in all points the same as the engagement with the Pratinidhi except that the Pant Sachiv was to pay Rs. 9,000 to the Raja of Satara.

The Pant Sachiv was the title of one of the eight pradhans of the Marathas instituted by Shivaji. When the agreement was made, Chimnaji Shankar was the Chief, who was adopted by Shankarrao on his death-bed, twenty five years ago when Chimnaji was about five years of age. The jagir was much mis-managed by former ministers during the homage of the Chief, who, on attaining the age of twenty, wrested the authority from his adoptive mother, and having imprisoned her, took the administration into his own hands. James Grant procured for this lady an annual stipend of Rs. 17,000 payable out of the jagir. Chimnaji Shankar's adopted son, Raghunath, succeeded him in 1827. That adoption was recognised and con-firmed both by the Satara Raja and the British Government. Raghunath Chimnaji died in February 1837. He was succeeded by his adoptive son, Chimnaji Raghunath.

The jagir lay on both sides of the Neera, principally within the Collectorate of Poona. It comprised the tarafs of Bhor, and other tarafs as also of sundry detached villages and amals - and included six hill forts - area about 500 square miles and estimated about Rs. 20,000 annually.

C. Ovans reported in 1838 that the estate of the Pant Sachiv consisted of 552 villages with a population of roughly 60,000 souls and the revenue was about Rs. 1,89,014 per annum. It was further reported that although the Pant Sachiv was jagirdar of the Satara State a major portion of his possessions lay in British limits.[11]

The revenue of the jagir for 1842-43 was Rs. 1,05,134.[12]

The Pant Sachiv since the adoption of 1837, was under the obligation to pay a tribute to the Raja of Satara of Rs. 20,500 annually.[13]

It appears from the data available that the situation of law and order was not satisfactory in the Bhor jagir of Pant Sachiv.

The military force of the Pant Sachiv was as follows:

15 Horsemen dressed and armed as Marathas and receiving monthly pay not exceeding Rs. 25.

112	Arab and other mixed castes, armed with matchlocks and swords receiving from Rs. 5 to 15 monthly pay.
200	Seth Sandis species of militia armed as district shibandis and doing the same duties but paid by assignments of land.
1225	Seth Sandis a species of militia attached to the forts and paid by assignments of land. These were employed exclusively on the duty of keeping the forts belonging to the Pant Sachiv.

1552	Total horse and foot[14]

3. Raja of Akkalkot

With Fatesing Raje Bhosle, an engagement was also entered into by the British Government on the 22nd April 1820, to the same effect as that with the Pant Sachiv, except that the Raja of Akkalkot was bound to furnish contingent of 100 horse to the Raja of Satara. The charges of which were estimated at Rs. 28,000 annually.

Fatesing Raje, who ruled in Akkalkot for forty years died at an advanced age on 13th April

1823. He was succeeded by his son Malojirao. Maloji died in 1828. After him, Shahaji, descendant of the nephew of Fatesing received the robes and seals from Raja Pratapsinha on 18th October 1828.

His estate comprised the pargana Akkalkot and other detached villages and amals. The jagir was bounded to the west by the British territory of Sholapur and to the north and east by the Nizam's country. The estimated area in square miles was 986 and its annual revenue estimated was about Rs. 3,70,000.

C. Ovans reported in 1838 that the estate of Shahaji Bhonsle of Akkalkot consisted of 110 villages of which the population was about 60,000 souls and the revenue was about Rs. 1,50,000 per annum.[15] The climate and production were much the same as those of the eastern petas of the Satara State.

Its annual revenue in1842-43 was Rs. 1,40,408 and its expenses for the same season were Rs.1,28,579.[16]

The internal administration of the jagir was always satisfactory. Civil justice was properly administered. The system of police was the same as in the Satara State.

Military force of the Raja of Akkalkot was as follows:

100	Horsemen furnished as a contingent to the Raja of Satara. These men were dressed and armed as Marathas and received a monthly allowance not exceeding Rs. 25.
30	Horsemen of the same description as the above at Akkalkot.
200	Shibandis were employed at Akkalkot and in the districts for revenue and other purposes. These men were armed with swords and matchlocks and received Rs. 4 or 5 per month.
200	Seth Sandis a species of militia paid by assignments of land. These men were armed in the same manner and perform the same duties as shibandis.

530	Total horse and foot[17]

4. Nimbalkar of Phaltan

An agreement, similar in all its provisions to that with the Raja of Akkalkot was concluded between the British Government and Janrao Naik Nimbalkar on 22nd April 1820, the only difference being that the latter was bound only to maintain a contingent of 90 horse, of which 75 were for the

service of the Raja of Satara, the charges of which were estimated at about Rs. 20,000 annually and 15 were to remain with the Naik Nimbalkar.

The family of the Naiks of Phaltan was considered one of the most ancient in Maharashtra. Their designation of Nimbalkar was derived from the village of Nimbalek. They originated their Deshmukhi claims in Phaltan by the kings of Bijapur in the early period of the 17th century. Janrao Naik Nimbalkar, the chief died on 17th March 1826 after a short illness. After his death his wife named Saibaijee hold it in right of her deceased husband Janrao Naik. She adopted a son Mudhoji from the original stock of the family.

The jagir was bounded on the north by the Poona district, from which it was divided by the Neera river, on the east, west and south by the Satara territory. Its estimated area was about 400 square miles.

The jagir was consisted of 80 villages on the south bank of the Neera river of which the population was estimated at about 30,000 souls and the revenue about Rs. 90,000 annually in 1838.[18] Its revenue in 1842-43 was Rs. 74,000 and its expenses were Rs.72,754 of which a considerable portion was set aside annually

for the payment of debts, in fulfilment of an engagement by the Raja of Satara.[19]

The soil was fertile producing jwar, bajari, wheat, gram etc. The town of Phaltan was populous and carried on a considerable trade. Its climate was dryer than that of Satara, and had very little rain and that too generally at the end of the season.

The police management under the jagir was the same as that in the Satara territory.

The military force of Nimbalkar was as follows:

75	Horsemen armed and dressed as Marathas furnished as a contingent to the Raja of Satara receiving monthly allowance, not exceeding Rs. 25.
15	Horsemen of the same description as the above employed in the Nimbalkar's districts.
100	Shibandis employed on district duties armed with matchlocks and swords receiving Rs. 4 to 5 per month.
100	Sandis species of militia employed and armed as shibandis but paid by assignment of land.

290	Total horse and foot[20]

5. <u>Daphale of Jath</u>

An agreement also existed between the British Government and Renukabai Daphale on 22nd April 1820. It contained the same provisions as those enumerated above, except that the contingent of the Daphale, for the service of the Raja of Satara was fixed at 50 horse, the charges of which were estimated at Rs.13,000 annually.

The Daphale were the hereditary Deshmukhs of the pargana Jath and Karangee near Bijapur. Their original name was Chavan and they acquired the name of Daphale from their village of Daphalapur, of which they were the hereditary Patils.

Renukabai, widow of the late Kanhoji, and chief of the jagir died in 1822. Then the jagir was conferred on Salubai, the second wife of the late Kanhojee. She died on 17th December 1823. At the recommendation of the British Government Raja conferred it on Ram rao whose own estate then devolved on his younger brother Yeshwantrao, commonly called Dajeeba Daphale. When Ramrao died in 1839, his wife Bhagirthibai held it in right of her deceased husband Ramrao.

The jagir was bounded on the north by the Satara territory, on the east by the Sholapur district on the south by the Belgaum district, on the

west by the jagirs of Sangli and Miraj. The estimated area was about 700 square miles. The jagir consisted of 120 villages and it lay about 90 miles south east of the town of Satara. The population was estimated (in 1838) at about 24,000 souls and the revenue about Rs. 57,000 annually.

Briggs wrote in 1827, "The Jath and Kurzgy Mahals are estimated at Rs. 1,90,000 but do not now yield more than 40,000 and owing to bad years and extreme bad management they are reduced to a still low ebb".[21] C. Ovans reported in 1844, that its revenue in 1842-43 was Rs. 48,705 and its expenses Rs. 48,661.[22]

Wheat was its main crop. Its climate and natural products were the same as those of the eastern districts of the Satara State.

The internal administration of the jagir was never satisfactory. The rulers were always in financial difficulties.

The military force was as follows:

50 Horsemen dressed and armed as Marathas furnished as a contingent to the Raja of Satara receiving as monthly allowance not exceeding Rs.25

10	Horsemen of the same description as the above employed in the Daphale districts.
150	Shibandis employed on district duties armed with matchlocks and swords receiving Rs.5 and 4 per month.
125	Seth sanadis a species of local militia armed and employeed as shibandis but paid by assignments of land.

335	Total horse and foot[23]

The police was on the same footing as that in the Satara State.

6. <u>Shaikh Mira of Wai</u>

An agreement, similar in all its provisions, to that with the Shaikh Mira of Wai was concluded between him and the British Government on 3rd July 1820.

At the provisions of the agreement were the same as those of other Jagirdars.

He was bound to maintain a contingent of 10 horse for the service of the Raja of Satara, the expense of which was estimated at Rs. 3,000 annually.

The jagir comprised only one entire village viz. Pusurnee in the neighbourhood of Wai, with some detached portions of land and amals in other places. The Shaikh Mira had Mokasa amal in Khandesh but only for the life of the Khan Mohammad.

The revenue of the jagir was estimated Rs. 21,000 annually. The population of that village (in 1838) was about 1,000 souls and the total revenue was about Rs. 11,753 annually.[24]

The ancestors of Shaikh Mira, the chief, were Mohammedan soldiers of fortune under the Rajas of Satara, and their present right appear to have been conferred on them by Shahu, about the year 1707.

Shaikh Mira died on 10th February 1828. Then the seal and robes were handed over to his son Khan Mohammad on 10th March 1828.[25]

Although these Jagirdars had full jurisdiction within their own jagir, still after 1839 also they could not be looked upon in the light of independent states but rather as forming an integral part of the Satara territory.

Pratapsinha's Relations with Jagirdars

The Raja had much difficulty with his great Jagirdars. Raja Pratapsinha looked upon them as his proper subjects. But they themselves had been used

to virtual independence, and resented any attempt on his part to enforce his authority over them.[26] These Jagirdars were not ready to accept the authority of Pratapsinha who had never received any co-operation from them during his life time.

The main article of the treaties which were concluded between Raja Pratapsinha and his Jagirdars was to appear in personal attendance on Pratapsinha at the festival of Dasara. Grant also included that article in his agreements with the Pratinidhi and Sachiv. But these Jagirdars were always reluctant to attend the Dasara festival. To attend at the Dasara festival at Satara was a token of accepting the authority of the Raja of Satara which they were indirectly resenting.

The character of Fatehsing Bhosle and the proximity of his estates to the territory of the Nizam, enabled him to render himself nearly independent of the Peshwas. His title of Raja although derived from the circumstances of his ancestors, gave him a pretension to dignity to which his family would not be otherwise entitled. But the fact that he possessed undisputed authority, in a part of the Maratha dominions, and that his area situated as to was in proximity to the State of Hyderabad, put both the Marathas and the Nizam in a dangerous situation. He

therefore enjoyed a unique position as Jagirdar. The attendance on the Raja of Satara, therefore at the Dasara and other occasions was altogether so novel that the Fatehsing resisted it strenuously. James Grant resumed one of his villages for it and compelled him to attend the festival. His son Maloji was not less tenancious than his father.

In the Rojnishi of Pratapsinha at one instance Grant expressed his worry about Jagirdars as "I am here and the internal administration is yet to be handed over, these Jagirdars are not ready to listen to anything. What will they do after handing over the charge of administration?"[27]

The Nasik episode of 1825 developed bitterness among the Raja of Satara and Bhosle of Akkalkot. The revolt broke out in 1830 in Akkalkot ended the socalled friendly(?) relations between them.

After the death of Maloji, Shahaji was succeeded to jagir in 1828. Shahaji being a minor, the responsibility of running the administration was taken over by Raja Pratapsinha. This arrangement which was made according to the treaty of 1820 was not like by the local watandars and inamdars. The local watandars rosed in revolt in 1830 against the new authorities under the leadership of Shankarrao Deshmukh of Borgaon. The rebellions arrested

Shahaji and captured the fort and town of Akkalkot. The combined forces of Pratapsinha and the Government of the East India Company arrived in Akkalkot. The Raja's forces were headed by Dinkarrao Mohite. On 10th July 1830 there followed skirmishes between the rebellions and the combined forces. After this Cap. Jemson was appointed to look after the administration of Akkalkot Jagir and to inquire into the causes of the discontent. One can come across the causes behind the discontent in a letter to Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay by Tuljabai. Some of them were for example (i) corrigendum of property of Bhosle including ornaments. (ii) The Bhosles were dishonoured at the hands of the authorities of Pratapsinha. The revolt was crushed by 12th of July. This was followed by the proclamation by the company's Government. On 15th July, Tuljabai with Shahaji surrendered. themselves to the Resident at Sholapur.[28]

Grant also seized one village named Bavdi of Sachiv for his non-attending the Dasara festival. Grant had trouble with the Pant Sachiv and suspected him of connivance at the lawlessness of the Ramoshis "I am somewhat afraid", he told Elphinstone in 1820, "that the police in the Punt Suchew's territory may be neglected, or rather that he will be a Muqadam of Ramoossee Naikhs, but I shall endeavour to show him

the danger of such a trade".[29] When the Pant came to see the Raja several months later, Grant remonstrated with him. He of course denied the truth of all rumours of his complicity with the Ramoshis and claimed that they must have originated in reports of engagements which he had made with them to protect his territory. Grant had to be satisfied with that. 'I am inclined to hope', he concluded, 'that he is sincere, at all events I am convinced he is intimated, and that he at least intends to act more circumspectly for the future'.[30]

But Briggs found no improvement. "The police of his district is scandalous", he reported in 1827. 'He seizes robbers only to extort part of their booty'. For the past fifteen months these had been complaints from inhabitants of the Pant's territories. Both the Raja and Briggs had warned him but 'although he promises fairly, the plaintiffs continue as clamorous as ever'. Briggs suspected that the Pant encouraged robbers in his own districts to prey upon the Company's territories.

Briggs described the Pant as 'a young man of acute and active mind, extremely prone to intrigue'. Like Chintamanrao,he was 'fond of horticulture', and had 'a large garden laid out in the Europe style full of English fruits and plants', and 'several different

kinds of Europe poultry, which he keeps curiosities'.[31] But in spite of these peaceful avocations indicative of western influence the Pant was the most turbulent of the Raja's great jagirdars.

When Elphinstone met the Raja in 1826, Raja argued from the terms of agreements that the jagirs were personal to their present holders and could therefore lapse on their death. Elphinstone denied this. When the agreements were made, he realled it was intended 'to provide for those old families by rendering their jaghires perpetual, a point which was decided on before they were given their choice of holding the lands either of the Raja or of the Company'.[32]

Elphinstone admitted that if a family became extinct, its jagir would lapse to the Raja, but he added that 'it is by no means desirable that such extinction should take place'.[33]

The Raja also drew up in painstaking detail a gradual system of procedure to be adopted for the assertion of refractory jagirdars, beginning with the simple requirement that the jagir should remain at count until he had given satisfaction and culminating in the permanent resumption of some of his villages.[34]

To this Elphinstone replied that 'the scale

of graduated compulsion recommended by Highness is very judicious as long as it is applied with moderation, but would be ruinous if pressed on with too much eagerness', and he pointed out that since the Jagirdar's agreement provided that all transactions affecting them should be carried out in consultation with the Resident, "it will therefore be necessary to consult him on each case of complaint and at every stage of the proceedings".[35]

Ramrao Daphale, however, had become so involved in debt that at his request and with the Resident's approval the Raja took over the administration, and when Briggs took his leave at Satara he reported that Ramrao was living at the capital 'in a most distressed and disreputable condition'.[36]

The Raja was particularly anxious to make the Pant Sachiv and Pant Pratinidhi, the descendants of the Ashta Pradhans of Shivaji, more dependent upon his own authority and to have them render some service to the state. He called them karkuns in contrast to the sardars who furnished troops for his service.[37]

In 1827, Chimnaji Shankar was brought low by sickness. He wanted a son and asked the Raja for permission to adopt one. This was the Raja's opportunity, and he took it eagerly. He declared

that he would allow the Pant to adopt only on condition that henceforth the heir would perform certain obligations like furnishing a contingent of troops.[38] On which Elphinstone wrote that he thought it reasonable for the Raja to demand a gift in token of Nazar, just as the Peshwa had done.[39]

Finally, it was agreed that the Raja should allow the Pant to adopt on condition of paying a gift indicating his allegiance to him and furnishing a contingent of horse.

John Briggs described Pratapsinha's tendency to encroach on the jagirdars in his report. He said, "this is evidenced in his jealousy of our interference and their even communicating with the Resident".[40]

The Raja had no friendly relations with the Jagirdars. In fact he had developed an animus towards them. The problem, who should exercise absolute control over the Jagirdars, undoubtedly led the Raja to the path of deposition. The contentions of the Raja was that all the Jagirdars within his territory were under his control but this was not acceptable to the Company's Government in Bombay. James Grant had entered into separate treaties with the Jagirdars within the boundary of this principality, and hence

the Company held the view that legally they were not subordinate to him.

In 1832, the Raja's jurisdiction over a portion of the jagir of the Pant Sachiv was questioned on the ground that such portion lay beyond the boundary line of the Satara territory. The Bombay Government decided the question against the Raja, who remonstrated against what he considered a violation of his rights, made many attempts to obtain a recognition of his claims from the Bombay Government, but all were in vain and finally he was deposed as he violated the 5th Article of the treaty on 5th Septmber 1839 by the British. In his battle against the Jagirdars, it was the Raja who was defeated primarily because of the support given by the British to the Jagirdars.

Notes

1. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, Raja Pratapsinh of Satara, 18.8.1839, (Poona, 1970), p. 201.
2. Ibid, pp. 201-202.
3. Ibid, p. 202.
4. BGR (N.S.) XLI, Satara, 1857, pp.67-69.
5. T. C. Loughnan & N. B. Sandford, 'Satara jageerdars', BGR (N.S.) XLI, Satara, 1857, p. 19.
6. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 198.
7. DC-265, JG-ME, 13.8.1818, See also SRC 5/2:3, JG-ME, 15.8.1818.
8. Ibid.
9. C. Ovans-J. P. Willoughby, 27.8.1844, refer to in R. D. Choksey, Raja Shahji of Satara 1839-1848 (Poona, 1974), p. 148.
10. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 200.
11. Ibid, p. 198.
12. C. Ovans-J. P. Willoughby, 27.8.1844, refer to in R. D.Choksey, RSS, p. 149.
13. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 198.

14. Ibid, p. 200.
15. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RPS</u>, p. 197.
16. C. Ovans-J. P. Willoughby, 27.8.1844, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RSS</u>, p. 147.
17. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RPS</u>, p. 199.
18. Ibid, p. 198.
19. C. Ovans-J. P. Willoughby, 27.8.1844, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RSS</u>, p. 150.
20. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RPS</u>, p. 200.
21. JB-Newnham, 1.1.1827, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RPS</u>, p. 127.
22. C. Ovans-J. P. Willoughby, 27.8.1844, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RSS</u>, p. 150.
23. C. Ovans-H. Torrens, 1.6.1838, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RPS</u>, p. 201.
24. Ibid, p. 198.
25. Roj. 11, 10.3.1828, p. 170.
26. JB-Newnham, 1.1.1827, refer to in R. D. Choksey, <u>RPS</u>, p. 127 ff.
27. Roj. 5, 14.12.1821, p. 62.
28. A. R. Kulkarni, 'Akkalkot Prakaran', <u>BISM</u>, Year 53, 1974, pp. 96-112.

29. JG-ME, 28.4.1820, Ibid, p. 242.

30. JG-WC, 23.1.1821, Ibid, p. 242.

31. JB-Newnham, 1.1.1827, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 126.

32. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Minute, 13.12.1826, refer to in Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 243.

33. ME-RP, 25.1.1827, Ibid, p. 243.

34. Raja's memorandum, Ibid, p. 244.

35. ME-RP, Ibid.

36. JB-Newnham, 1.1.1827, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 128.

37. Simson-ME, 25.6.1827, refer to in Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 244.

38. Ibid.

39. ME-Simson, 10.7.1827, Ibid.

40. JB-Newnham, 1.1.1827, refer to in R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 132.

One of the major problems before the newly created Satara Raj was the reorganization of administration, without disturbing much the existing system of the Marathas. The last phase of Maratha power, which was involved in constant warfare, developed many dissenting forces which shattered the structure of Maratha administration created by Shivaji and managed efficiently in the 18th century - till the death of Nana Phadnis in the year 1800. The people were not yet prepared for accepting an alien rule. The disbanded forces of the Marathas had not yet forgotten their masters and glorious history, which made them to resent the British whenever it was possible. Bajirao II was deported to a distant part of the country, yet he still represented, at least in the minds of some, as the head of the Maratha Government. The local officers had not yet developed confidence in their new masters, and therefore they were not whole-heartedly co-operating with them.

Under such difficult situation, Elphinstone

appointed Captain James Grant, an army officer, as the first political agent at Satara.[1] He was entrusted with the task of bringing order in the chaotic condition of Satara Raj with the help of his mentor Elphinstone and the co-operation of the Raja. It would, therefore, be interesting to study the reorganization of administration in Satara by James Grant, which became known as Grant Sahebacha Dastur. Though he left India in 1823, Pratapsinha continued the same framework of administration laid down by him. He administered Satara with the same principles, policies and instructions of Grant. After 1839, under Shahaji the previous structure of administration continued with some minor changes.

In his letter to James Grant,[2] dated 8th April 1818, Elphinstone supplied him with guidelines about, how he should administer the Satara State. Elphinstone, the first commissioner of the Deccan, was essentially a man of orthodox nature, though he followed a liberal policy throughout Maharashtra. His motto was that there should be no revolutionary changes in the administrative institutions, which were linked with the social institutions of the people. This attitude is reflected in his policy towards Satara. He was of the opinion that Satara was not to be governed by Regulations. He wanted to make use of the existing

administrative machinery with modifications required for efficiency.

According to the instruction of Elphinstone, James Grant was 'to gain his (the Raja's) confidence', obtain his goodwill and 'to extend the spirit of conciliation to all members of the Raja's family.'[3] The important instruction was 'no innovations ought to be attempted unless to remedy great abuses or to meet the wishes of the people.'[4] He was advised that justice should be administered according to the forms established in the country. Large remissions of revenue must be made to the inhabitants and valuable instruction was not to 'make changes concerning their religion and customs'.

Grant had to secure the Raja's goodwill, but he had also to make it quite clear that the authority of the British Government was in reality supreme. Otherwise, he said, "the machine we are setting up will be liable to be turned against us". For the present, Grant was authorised to take full charge of the Government, - 'a natural arrangement, while everything is to be done with our troops and our money'.[5] As the Raja gained experience of administration and as his state developed enough revenue to maintain itself, Grant was gradually to hand over power to him. Meanwhile, Elphinstone paved the way

for Grant by telling the Raja that, 'the final settlement of his government will in a great measure be regulated by the disposition he evinces during this period of probation.'[6] Elphinstone also entrusted the management of the southern jagirdars to the collector of Dharwad rather than to the political agent at Satara, partly because 'it is an object not to make them look to Satara as their Headquarters or keep their vakeels assembled at that court.'[7]

Grant set to work to win the Raja's confidence. He did this partly by direct argument - 'persuading him that his interests and mine were the same, that our fortunes were linked together, that my rise depended on his future greatness', and so on.[8] Grant also developed an ingenious strategy 'above all things (he explained to Elphinstone) he must think that every act of mine and his is controlled, and that an infringement of your orders if reported would bring instant ruin upon him. I must be his friend and adviser, bound by my public duty to insist on his acting with economy, justice and moderation, but privately disposed to report as few faults, as can possibly be avoided consistent with my situation, at the same time that I should be displaced immediately if you discovered that I had allowed anything improper to pass unnoticed on

without reporting it to you.'[9] And he emphasised to the Raja how dangerous it would be to offend Elphinstone. On one occasion he told 'the poor little Raja' as he wrote afterwards to Elphinstone 'that though you were great in your friendship, you were terrible in your wrath'.[10]

Grant soon came to feel a certain affection for the Raja. In May 1818, he was writing to him as 'a very good fellow. I really like him very much ...'.[11] By November 1818, he had developed a healthy respect for the Raja's diplomatic abilities : 'he is as sly the little fellow as you can conceive and I see how he tries to cheat me in the way he tells me (as a great secret) how he cheats others'.[12] This, however, did not lessen his affection for the Raja. 'I like the sinner with all his faults, he does not tell me lies.'[13]

One of Grant's earliest and most difficult tasks was to limit the Raja's personal expenditure. Elphinstone told Grant that for the present it should be 'about three lacks of rupees per annum.'[14] The Raja first demanded 'nearly half a crore' but Grant 'had no difficulty in making him acknowledge the absurdity of this, and he freely admitted that he had taken the advice of other people ... who had told

him that it was proper to give in a large estimate as in fact half a lakh and half a crore were all the same to the company's Government when inclined to bestow favour'. He then said that 'we can manage on twenty lakhs for ensuing year.' Grant finally told him how much Elphinstone was willing to allow, to which he replied, that 'it was impossible'. Grant then remarked that he himself thought 3 lakhs of rupees 'most handsome', and the interview seems to have ended in an unsatisfactory way : 'we parted less cordially than we had ever done before'.[15] He decided not to continue the argument personally but to act through his confidential agent : 'I sent Ballajeepunt because I should have found difficulty in avoiding personal altercation'. Balaji Pant proved 'of the greatest use', and the Raja finally agreed to Rs. 25,000. He asked for Rs. 2,000 extra to use in charity : Grant decided to give him Rs. 1,000 and allow for further purchase upto an additional Rs.1,000. This figure of Rs. 26,000 a month came to Rs. 12,000 a year more than Elphinstone had originally proposed.[16] In this respect Grant wrote to Elphinstone, "... It has, I assure you, been a troublesome business and in having just matters settled to the Raja's satisfaction I really think half my difficulties are over. I am quite elated at my good luck in having mastered kusakusa."[17]

Shortly after this achievement, Grant was dismayed to hear that Sir Thomas Hislop might soon visit Satara. 'I have got the Raja to lock up all his finery and to restore the old fashion of plain clothes, and another display like the coronation will upset all his fine plans and destroy the effects of all Ballajee Punt's persuations.'[18] His fears seem to have come to nothing, for there is no record of any such extravagance, and the Raja's habits of economy continued.

During his four years stay at Satara, James Grant played a dual role. On the one hand he was the mentor of Pratapsinha in all fields and on the other hand he was to run the administration of Satara.

Grant laid the foundations of administration : its structure, rules, procedure etc. It was he, who prepared a framework of both civil and military administrations according to the instructions of Elphinstone.

When Grant took charge of his office, the responsibilities upon him were enormous. The most important and difficult task was to carry on the administration in the name of the Raja conforming to the Raja's wishes where possible and giving him 'a taste for business and acknowledge of the principles of Government.'[19] This meant that he had to reform the machinery of administration by introducing form

and regularity and punishing corruption. The boundaries of the Raja's territory were yet to be fixed. How to assimilate the shibandi was an important problem facing Grant. The soldiers were coming back from battle fields to their watans and native places, whether they should be allow to live on their watans or be destroyed, was the basic problem. Grant with the advice of Elphinstone decided that if they did not take up arms on behalf of Bajirao they should not be punished.[20]

Administration required discipline, regularity and coordination. To gain the confidence of the people and to make them work was a basic necessity. For running the administration, Grant wanted the co-operation of the people. On 14th April 1818, Grant issued two proclamations in the name of the Raja. There were two reasons for this. He wanted the Raja to reassure the people that English were their friends and that they should help the English in the administration for the welfare of the state. The first proclamation was a declaration of the perfidy of Bajirao, in the manner he had behaved with the Raja and his family, and the consequent gratitude and friendship of the British Government. The proclamation also stated that nobody should have any contact with Bajirao. They should keep quiet, if not, their

property would be confiscated. The second proclamation delegated power to the political agent whom Elphinstone had placed with the Raja for arranging the country intended for the Raja, and calling on all his subjects to obey the agents i.e. James Grants orders as if they were his own.[21]

In his letter dated, 30th July 1818, Grant wrote to Elphinstone 'the first thing I did on receipt of your instructions was to put the Dufter in some kind of order ...'.[22] He appointed Tatya Abhyankar as Daftardar on 10th June 1818 with Rs. 300 salary per month.[23] Janoba Agashe was appointed as jababnis or secretary. In treasury office Jayaram Sahastrabudhye was appointed as treasurer on 22nd August 1818. Balaji Naik was appointed deputy treasurer. Abaji Bapuji was appointed as accountant.[24] Grant appointed Vithalpant Mahajani as Diwan while Krishnarao was appointed as Fadnis.[25]

To define the boundaries of the new state was an important question. Both James Grant and his assistant Balaji Pant Natu prepared the mind of the Raja to accept the idea of a limited state. A very small portion of the territory between the rivers Nira and Warna, was assigned to the Raja.[26]

The Satara state contained the following three parts:

a) Original Maratha swaraj

b) Jagirdars

c) Bijapur

a) Original Maratha swaraj was directly under the control of Pratapsinha. It contained, including the Pratinidhi's district of Atpadi 6,324 sq.mile.[27] Its population in the year 1821 excluding the inhabitants of Atpadi was 60,96,02[28] or with a density of population of 109 1/2.

b) All the chiefs who held their jagir within the boundaries of the Satara State were placed under the Raja at their own request, on receiving a special guarantee from the British Government.[29] They were not to be administered by the Raja. They had their own administrative machinery.

c) Bijapur - It was decided in the treaty 'there will be some additional territory made over to the Raja from the province of Beejapoor to be here after specified' but 'of which the revenue shall not be up than one lakh of rupees'.[30]

The following paraganas, which were part of the province Bijapur, were handed over to Pratapsinha in Fasali 1230, i.e. 1821 A.D.[31] They were Haveli Bijapur, Molwad, Kolhar, Balotee, Sidnath, Chimalge, Horti, Halsingi, Mamdapur, Gote : yielding

Rs. 1,22,068-2-43 paise amount of revenue.

Bijapur contained 748 sq.miles, population 43,682 which gives with a density of population of 58 1/2 in the year 1821.[32]

The Satara state contained two main systems of hills, the Sahyadri range and its offshoots and the Mahadev range and its offshoots.

The Sahyadri system includes the main range of the Sahyadri which through its entire length of sixty miles north to west, formed the western boundary of the state. The second system of Satara hills is the Mahadev system. In the north the Mahadev range starts about ten miles north of Mahabaleshwar and stretches east and south-east across the whole breadth of the territory.

Within the Satara territory there were two river systems, the Bhima system in a small part of the north and north-east, and the Krishna system throughout the rest of the territory.

Of the Bhima system there are two branches, the Nira and the Man or Manganga. A narrow belt beyond the Mahadev hills drains north into the Nira which flows east into the Bhima the north-east corner of the district beyond the Mahimangad - Panhala spur drains south-east along the Manganga which afterwards flows east and north-east to join the Bhima. The

total area of the Bhima system, including part of Wai and the whole of Phaltan and Manganga is probably about 1100 miles excluding about 400 miles of the Phaltan, this leaves for the Krishna system 4000 miles or about five sixth of the Satara territory. The drainage system of the Krishna includes besides the drainage of the central stream the drainage of six feeder's from the right side the Kudali, Yenna or Venna, Urmodi, Tarli, Koyna and Varna and of two from the left side the Vasna and the Yerla.

The territory of the Satara State may be roughly divided into two district and very dissimilar parts, by a chain of hills branching off from Mahadev range near Phaltan and running from north to south for fifty or sixty miles nearly to the banks of Krishna near Walwe. They were Western division and Eastern division.

The Western division which consisted of seven petas (taluqs) namely, Satara, Targaon, Karad, Walwe, Jawli, Wai, Koregaon was intersected by a succession of spurs of hills branching from the lofty Sahyadri mountains, and forming fertile valleys, watered by numerous rivers and streams. The hills themselves yield teak and other timber trees as well as good and abundant forage and on their summits were to be found villages and cultivations. This particular part of the

territory i.e. the western division was well populated with industrious agriculturist people, who secured better results from the fertile lands and adequate amount of rainfall. It enjoyed salibrious climate. In short this portion of territory was most favoured in soil and climate; it was the richest best cultivated and most populous. A considerable portion of the land in those seven petas was alienated on rent-free or service tenure, known as watan land. Of the remaining part of the land, most of it was held by peasant proprietors who were known as mirasdars in this country. They retained the occupancy rights so long as they paid the government dues determined by periodical settlements.[33]

The eastern division, which consisted of four petas namely, Khanapur, Khatav, Pandharpur and Bijapur was more flat, barren and thinly populated. Besides being more open and exposed to invasion, and more subjected to vicissitudes of nature, this belt was so much depopulated by war and famine that very few mirasdars remained there. But the good yield from pasture lands in this region proved beneficial for horse-breeding, a weapon which the marathas used in their warfare.[34]

The chief products of the Satara state are

Jwar, Bajri, Gram, Wheat, various kinds of leguminons and oil yielding plants.[35]

The principal roads running through the territory were those from Pune to Belgaon via Satara, and from Pune to Pandharpur.

The country has always been remarkable for the hill forts. There are about twenty five forts which came under this territory. They are Junglee - Jaigad, Mahimandangad, Makarandagad, Pratapgad, Wasota, Satara, Paralee, Morgheeree, Dategad, Prachitgad, Vasantagad, Sadashivgad, Machidragad, Tathawada, Wrugad, Vardhangad, Mahimangad, Nandgiri, Bhushangad, Vairathgad, Pandavgad, Chandan, Wandan, Kelanja, and Kamalgad. Out of these twenty five forts, nine forts namely, Satara, Paralee, Vasantagad, Sadashivgad, Warugad, Vardhangad, Mahimangad, Pandavgad, Nandgiri were under the control of Pratapsinha. In 1823 Pratapgad was ceded to him by the British Government. Wasota and Prachitgad were under the control of the British Government. The remaining forts were directed by the British Government to be destroyed.[36]

James Grant followed the instructions of Elphinstone while dividing the country into 'petas'. Elphinstone followed Munro's advice in the instructions which he issued to his collectors in July 1818. He told them to divide their collectorates into taluqs

or districts producing land revenue between 1/2 and 1 lakh.[37]

Grant while dividing the territory into petas with their estimated revenue, and appointing Mamlatdars and other 'peta' officers like Shirastedars, Shroffs, Shekdars, etc., on them, no doubt laid down the foundation of the peta administration of the Satara state.

From the documents available it is clear that Grant had to reorganise the administrative units of the Satara state thrice between 1818-1821. This was due to his experience of the initial years as well as the addition of more territories to the state.

In 1818, Grant divided the territory into fourteen divisions, with their estimated revenue and appointed Mamlatdars on each peta.[38] Those petas were Satara, Jawli, Targaon, Karad, Battis Shirale, Walwe, Khatav, Mayani, Khanapur, Pandharpur, Baloni, Phaltan, Wai and Koregaon.[39] After experience, Grant in May 1820 reorganised the territory into eleven petas merging the villages of Mayani, Baloni and Phaltan into the adjoining eleven petas.[40] One year after, in May 1821, he again rearranged those divisions because Bijapur was included in the Raja's territory, and the villages of Battis Shirale were merged into the adjoining petas.[41]

Satara Peta - It was bounded by Wai peta on

the north, Koregaon on the north-east, Targaon on the south and south-west and Jawli peta on the west.[42] There are two forts in this peta. They were Satara and Paralee.[43]

Jawli peta - This small peta was bounded on the west by Sahyadri which included Kumbharla and Ambawli ghats, on the east by Satara Peta, on the north and north-east by Wai peta, and on the south and south-east by Walwe peta.[44]

The collection of revenue of this peta was very troublesome because of the nature of the country.

Five important forts belonged to this peta. They were Jangli-jaigad, Mahimandangad, Makarandagad, Pratapgad and Wasota.[45]

Main towns of the Jawli peta were Mahabaleshwar, Meereh, Tamb, Sonat etc.[46]

Targaon peta - This small peta was bounded on the west by Jawli peta, on the east by Khanapur, on the north by Satara, on the north-west by Koregaon, on the south and south-east by Karad and on the south-west by Walwe.[47]

This peta included Morgheere, Dategad and Prachitgad.[48]

Some main towns of Targaon peta were Patan, Chaphal, Umraj, Manegaon, Helwak, Pal etc.[49]

Karad peta - This small peta was bounded by Targaon peta on the north and north-west, Walwe peta on the south and south-east, Walwe peta on the west, Khanapur peta on the east.[50]

This peta included only two forts; Vasantagad and Sadashivgad.[51]

Some main towns of this peta were Malhar Peth, Nandgaon, Yelgaon, Narsingpur, etc.[52]

Walwe peta - It was bounded on the north by Karad peta, on the north-west by Khanapur, on the south by river Warna, on the east by jagir of Miraj and of Sangli.[53]

Only one fort namely Machindragad came under this peta.[54]

Wai peta - This small peta is described by James Grant as 'remarkably fertile, populous and highly cultivated'.[55] It was bounded on the north by river Nira, on the north-west by the jagir of Pant Sachiv, on the south by Satara and Koregaon peta, on the south-west by Jawli peta, on the west by Ghats and on the east by jagir of Phaltan.[56]

It included six forts, namely, Vairathgad, Pandavgad, Chandan, Wandan, Kelanja and Kamalgad.[57]

Koregaon peta - It was bounded on the west by Satara peta, on the east by Khatav, on the south by Targaon and Khanapur peta, on the south-west by Satara

peta, on the north-east by the jagir of Phaltan, and on the north-west by Wai peta.[58]

Only Nandgiri fort belonged to this peta.

Some important towns of this peta were Neemb, Kumthe, Rahimatpur, Wagholi, Boinj etc.[60]

Pandharpur peta - This big peta was bounded on the north and north-east by river Nira, on the south and south-east by the jagir of Jath on the west by peta Khatav and the jagir of Pratinidhi.[61]

Some main towns of Pandharpur peta were Akluj, Velapur, Kasegaon, Sangola, Nazre, etc.[62]

Khatav peta - This peta was bounded on the north by river Nira, north-west by the jagir of Phaltan, on the south by peta Khanapur, on the south-east by the jagir of Pratinidhi, on the east by Pandharpur peta, on the west by Koregaon peta.[63]

Four forts namely, Tathawada, Warugad, Vardhangad and Mahimangad were belonged to this peta.

Some important towns of this peta were Dahigaon, Dharampuri, Natepute, Singnapur, Dehwadi, etc.[65]

Khanapur peta - This peta was bounded by Khatav peta on the north, the jagir of Miraj on the south, peta Walwe and Karad on the south-west Targaon peta on the west and the jagir of Pratinidhi on the east.[66]

Only Bhushangad fort belonged to this peta.[67]

Some main towns of this peta were Baloni, Eeteh, Pusesavali, Wangi, etc.[68]

Bijapur peta - Peta Bijapur included the following parganas:

i) Haveli Bijapur, (included twenty three villages and 4 Sharakati villages)

ii) Molwad (included seven villages and koodge as Sharakati)

iii) Kolhar (included three villages)

iv) Balotee (included seven villages)

v) Sidnath (included six villages)

vi) Chimalge (included only one village Koulgee)

vii) Horti (included twenty one villages and three Sharakati villages)

viii) Halsingi (included twenty five villages and four Sharakati villages)

ix) Mamdapur (included fifteen villages)

x) Gote (included six villages).[69]

The villages belonged to Sirgur of pargana Endi and of Honutghee were also transferred to the Raja.

Grant tried to bring discipline, regularity and coordination in the administration and its procedure of working.

He decided working hours of Huzur servants from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. On the 10th November 1819, under his guidance regulations of civil justice and police were prepared and issued by the Raja's Government. But while doing this, he maintained the old Hindu traditions. The first census of the Satara state was also conducted by Grant.

Grant was very attentive to the minor details of administration as well. Sometimes a Patil levied additional pattis on the ryot, that amount was recovered by him and given back to that ryot.[70] Grant never tried to go against the wishes of the people. Auctions of cows and horses were not allowed in the Satara state. A cow-slaughtering was strictly prohibited. To kill a Brahmin was, according to Hindu tradition, a major crime which was allowed to continue as a crime in Satara.[71]

Grant personally supervised the administration occasionally. He was keen on getting executed the duties assigned by him to the officers.

To stop the corrupt practices of the judicial administration, Grant issued a proclamation, in which it was stated that no body should give any bribe for any work of panchayat. If it was proved that bribe was given he would lose his cause. Watan was the most prestigious institution in Maharashtra. Most of

the civil litigation was regarding the claims of watan. This naturally gave scope for bribery to get a favourable decision. Grant threatened such persons with confiscation of their watans.[72]

Grant was very strict about the crimes committed by company's soldiers, stationed at Satara. He issued a special proclamation for this, which stated that 'if the soldiers of the company found guilty of any act, they would be tried and punished under the court martial procedure of the company'.[73] If a complaint was made by the Raja or his people to him, about the crimes or nuisance created by company's soldiers, he never showed mercy to them.

Land revenue was a very complicated thing. After establishing himself at Satara Grant started to visit different villages and collected information. He made many efforts to make the system very efficient and to systematise its working procedure. Accounts for previous ten years were demanded from all the Kulkarnis of the state, who, he realised were not very much cooperative with him in the initial stages.

As a mentor he taught basics of administration to the Raja, while making the Raja acquainted with administration, he put before him the principles of Government.

It was James Grant who advised Pratapsinha

to maintain a diary (Rojnishi) of the daily events.[74] He told the Raja to write down the events of the day in a note book at the end of the day and keep it separately so that no body can see or read it. He also advised not to show it anybody. Grant felt that the Raja should take pains to learn the art of writing. He always kept on asking about the Raja's progress in keeping the records of his daily activities.[75]

Grant told Pratapsinha that he should become an expert in keeping accounts and gain necessary knowledge of agrarian matters.[76] He told the Raja that he should become expert in fixing and collecting revenue. He stressed on the mind of the Raja the importance of economy. He advised the Raja to keep a surplus treasury and do not make any loans.[77] He continuously impressed on the Raja, the importance of painstaking industry.[78]

Grant taught the Raja how to nominate right people to different posts of administration and advised him not to tell anybody before the appointment.

About the appointment of the Mamlatdar at Satara he stated that the mamlatdar should be smart and clever and should not have any relatives at Satara.[79] About the appointment of Diwan, he told the Raja that the Diwan should be expert in every

aspect of administration and should not be over ambitious.[80]

Grant believed that Government should be based on certain principles and moral philosophy. He, through his teachings put before the Raja, the following main principles of the Government.

<u>Incorruptibility</u>

Grant advised the Raja that he could command respect from all the men under him, if he did not take any sort of money which were paid to the durbar officers. He told further that the Raja should not take any sort of bribe from any body and should not be partial to any body.

<u>Anti-Nepotism</u>

Grant suggested Pratapsinha that he should be very strict to his friends or relatives working in the administration. He should not make any favour to any body in the appointments of the posts of administration.[81] He told the Raja that there should be a common administrative procedure of working according to its nature.[82]

<u>Rule of Law and Welfare of State</u>

Grant advised the Raja that he should preserve the interests of the ryots. Before 1818, the ryots were often harassed but Grant now impressed on the

Raja's mind that he should not take any extra revenue than what was decided and work for their welfare and improvement of life not disturbing them under any pretext.[83]

It was decided by Elphinstone that Grant should take complete charge of the Raja's affairs and gradually allow him to manage his own territory as he becomes better acquainted with affairs. Grant, therefore, chose civil justice, as the first charge which could be placed under the control of the Raja. He not only taught him the basic principles of judicial administration, like impartiality, rule of law, importance of trial, etc., but also silently observed how he was transacting the business of imparting justice.

Grant brought to the Raja's notice that all persons are equal before the law and no punishment be inflicted, without listening to both the contending parties, and no property should be confiscated without proper enquiry. He should never take sides while imparting justice.[84]

It was a great matter of great delight to Grant when he found that the people were happy to see that their own Raja was presiding over the court of law and deciding cases on their merits. He reported this matter to the Raja with great satisfaction.[85]

When the Raja became expert in civil justice, criminal justice was also put under his control. The management of police was also given to the Raja but the control of treasury, revenue, management of troops were yet to be handed over to the Raja.

The Raja could grasp the business of administration without much difficulty to the satisfaction of his mentor. He was acquainted with all the revenue proceedings and the accounts of each division were submitted to Grant for inspection. The Raja was always accompanied by Grant during the time of '<u>Jamabandi</u>' so that he could have a first hand knowledge of its working.

The Raja used to visit the office and the treasury twice or thrice a week to check the accounts and working of these departments. Grant reported to Chaplin that he had noticed the Raja, 'requiring explanations which show that he observes essentials and understands something of what is transacting'.[86] The daily business was either transacted in the Raja's presence or explained to him and all the doubts raised by the Raja regarding a particular order or case were cleared to his satisfaction.[87]

Grant took much pains to qualify the Raja for the station which awaited him. He not only made Pratapsinha expert in administration through his

instructions but also played vital role in the development of his personality. It was because of him that the Raja started taking keen interest in every aspect of the administration. Grant always regarded the Raja as his younger brother.[88] Their correspondence was going on even after Grant's departure to England.[89]

Grant was strictly following article 6th of the Treaty of 1819 which explicitly said that though the resident would be managing the affairs of the state, he should make every efforts to pave the ground for gradual transfer of power to the Raja. By 1822, he was convinced that the time for transfer of power had come as the Raja was sufficiently trained to shoulder the responsibility of the Government.

However, there were differences of opinion among the British officers about the actual period of transfer of internal administration to the Raja. The correspondence between Grant and Chaplin the commissioner is quite revealing.

Grant was of the opinion that the transfer should be done by stages. Chaplin, however, objected to the idea of handing over power by stages. Indeed, he hardly liked the idea of handing it over at all : 'the longer the evil day can be postponed the better provided it can be done in consistency with the

treaty which has been by ourselves dictated to him.' In opposition to Grant, with all the latter's personal knowledge of the Raja, Chaplin declared that as 'a Maratha youth unaccustomed to business, who has been all his life a prisoner', was unlikely to cope properly with judicial work. He even objected in principle to the idea of king doing justice.

In general, he declared that, 'though admirable in theory', Grant's plan was probably 'too speculative for execution'. The provisions of the treaty were broad enough, he thought, to permit of deferring the transfer of power for another year or so, and 'while we do retain our control we should keep it unimpaired, in order to avoid that jarring and conflict of interests and the consequent endless intrigues which most result from a division of authority'.[90]

The Governor in council partly accepted Chaplin's argument that the transfer of power should be effected in one operation rather than in stages, but at the same time, declared that it should be done as soon as possible.[91] But Grant wrote privately to Elphinstone two months later that 'Chaplin's plan of retaining all to the last is wrong'. On the ground that, 'if all be given over now it is certain to wreck if nothing be relaxed it will create disgust'.

In fact, he had already transferred the judicial administration to the Raja. He explained to Elphinstone that in spite of Chaplin's opinion 'the nature of things, however, obliges me to relax and although I have retained the full power in my hands. I have made nearly the arrangements which the Raja would have introduced this Dussera, and this I have done because I am confident it will meet your wishes. I have taken care to preserve the letter though I have deviated from the spirit of Chaplin's orders'.[92] In January 1821, he confessed to Chaplin that 'the judicial administration was already in a measure transferred to the Raja', and that various administrative measures and appointments which the Raja wanted had been promulgated at the Dasara festival.[93]

Discussions which were taken place between the Raja and Grant relating to transfer of power are noted in the Rojnishi of Pratapsinha. Grant said at one instance that 'there is no body except the Raja who could ablely administer the Satara Raj.'[94] Grant advised Pratapsinha to maintain friendly relations with the company. He further told him that if he maintained friendship with the company, had good support from the company's Government, and if he laboured hard, then and then only his Raj would prosper.[95] The most valuable advice which

Grant gave to the Raja, 'to be cautious and alert and to observe the treaty (25th September 1819) carefully. Otherwise the new Resident may put you in difficulty.'[96]

Grant eventually proposed to transfer the whole internal administration to the Raja on the 5th April 1822.[97] He was optimistic about the future : 'I do think that although what has been effected does not come up to the castles I built, that things at this moment are farther advanced than you expected. I have very good hopes of the Raja, I think him a very good little fellow.'[98]

After the departure of James Grant to England, in 1823, Pratapsinha continued the same framework of administration laid down by James Grant. He governed Satara with the same principles, policies and instructions of James Grant. John Briggs (1823-1827) who became the Resident of the Satara state after Grant, greatly impressed by the Raja's administrative ability. Looking back over the years which he had spent at Satara, he wrote in 1827 that 'the aptness with which the Raja took to business under Captain Grant Duff is truly surprising, and the steadiness with which he pursues the system laid down by him is highly creditable to His Highness.'[99] In

the Rojnishi it is stated that Briggs at one instance said to the Raja that he had done a good thing by continuing the administration of James Grant.[100] Briggs was followed by A. Robertson, who was replaced by Lodwick. After Lodwick came Cl. Ovance to the Satara Residency but we hardly find any change in the administrative structure. It remained the same (with some little changes here and there) till 1848.

Civil Administration

Central

At the central there was Ashta-Pradhan Mandal to assist the king.

Vithal Ballal Mahajani was appointed as Diwan by Grant on the advice of the Raja in 1820.[101] Instead of the Peshwa, this office of Diwan was created but not for the first time. After his death on the 11th April 1825, his eldest son Govindrao Vithal became the Diwan.

Sarvottam Baburao was Punt Amatya. After his death Bapu Kanho Phadnis was appointed as Punt Amatya.[102]

Punt Sachiv was Chimnaji Pandit. After his death, his adopted son Raghunathrao was given the robes of the office of sachiv.

Jayawantrao was Punt Mantri. After his death

in March 1831, his adopted son Raghunath Jayawant received the office of Mantri on 28th May 1831.[103]

In the initial years no one was appointed to the office of Senapati. On the 29th September 1827, Balwantrao Raje Bhosle, Sarlashkar took over the office of senapati of the Satara state.[104]

The office of Sumant was assigned to Balwantrao Malhar Chitnis on 30th September 1827.[105]

Chintaman Chitko Bhate, a munin Adalat was appointed as Nyayadhish only for three years (1836-1839).[106]

Raghunathrao was appointed as Panditrao.[107] After his death on 13th April 1828, his adopted son Ramchandra Raghunath received the office of Panditrao on 21st April 1828.[108]

The Pratinidhi was Parashuram Trimbak II.

Duties

1) Diwan[109] - It was the duty of the Diwan to make himself acquainted with the contents of all letters received in the different departments of the Daftar and also from the Nyayadhish and the Chitnis and be prepared to explain all the subjects to which they relate. He was to be present when answers were dictated and he was to see that such answers clearly express the intentions of Government.

He was to keep a general superintendence over the Phadnis, Daftardar, the Chitnis, Mamlatdars and all public servants of Government and he was to be watchful in regard to the abuses likely to occur in the administration of Paga and Shibandi. He should keep a careful watch on the manner in which everyone performs his duties.

When orders and proclamations were sent from the king to the Sarsubhedars and Mamlatdars the Diwan was to make himself acquainted with the manner in which these orders and proclamations were attended to, to remark whether the business pointed out was done, to enquire what was left undone and what was completed.

When the 'Jama-bandi' of all the petas were completed, the Diwan was always to enquire into the state of the collections to inform himself of how much had been collected from each peta and how much remained in arrears.

Diwan was expected to enter every day the amount received in the Kird (daily accounts) of the Phadnis and in the shillak-band (balance) of the treasury. He was always to affix the seal on the treasury bags and on the locks.

The reports of the Sarsubhedars and of the Mamlatdars relating to the performance of the public

servants were in charge of Diwan.

The salary of Vithal Ballal Mahajani as diwan in the month of October 1820 was Rs. 1000 per month.[110]

2) Amatya - The functions of the Amatya were to write the records to look into Ek-berji of all the karkhanas and into all the accounts relating to income and expenditure in the Swarajya and to put on the state papers the Lekhanàlankar and Barsud, indicating the completeness and registration of the document. We come across in the Rojnishi of Pratapsinha many references to this particular function of the Amatya.[111]

3) Sachiv - He was in charge of the Government records. Every sanad issued by the Raja, bore there marks of the sachiv. 'Rujusurnavis and Suru sud bar, indicating that they were entered into the Government inward register.[112]

It is true that the records of this period do not give details of the duties of the other members of the 'Ashta pradhan mandal'. However, it can be fairly presumed that they must be performing the same duties assigned to them by the Kanujabtas or traditions which were in vogue in the earlier periods of Maratha administration.

'Ashta pradhan mandal' also continued under

Raja Shahaji. He continued the services of the earlier Pant Sachiv, Pant Pratinidhi, Pant Mantri, Panditrao but appointed new persons to hold the offices of Diwan, Sumant and Nyayadhish.[113]

Narahar Raghunath Paradkar was appointed as karbhari or Diwan who replaced in few months by Yashwantrao Faujdar in 1843. The office of Sumant was assigned to Ramachandra Gopal, adopted son of Venubai Sumant. Joti Trimbak Faujdar was appointed as Nyayadhish.

When we study the Ashta pradhan mandal under Raja Pratapsinha and his successor, Raja Shahaji, we would like to know whether it performed its duties as it was performing before? Did it possess any important place in the administrative machinery after 1818? Did it play any important role in administration?

Shivaji created a fullfledged council of Ministers, based on ancient practices at the time of his coronation. Though various duties were assigned to the ministers, the king exercised the supreme authority. After his death, the changing political situation, did affect the functioning of the council of ministers. During the period of Rajaram, it was 'amatya' who wielded the supreme power. A new office of Pratinidhi was created in the subsequent period.

As the Peshwa became powerful, the other members of the council paled into insignificance, and during the period of Peshwa Madhavrao II, a new council called 'the Barbhai council' was created to manage the growing power of the Marathas and the 'Karbharis' became more powerful.

The character of the Maratha state was undergoing fast changes when the British took over the Maratha country from them. A Maratha state was created and a Maratha Raja was installed on it, no doubt, but the actual reigns of administration were in the hands of the British. In fact, it can be said that though the 'Ashta pradhan mandal' was retained, the political agent or the resident, assumed the role of the Peshwa. If the Raja's sovereignty according to the treaty of 1819, was subordinate to the British, how can one expect, any major role being performed by the 'Ashta pradhan mandal' under the new system.

Secretariat - It was consisted of many Darakdars (secretaries) of different departments.

They were Sarlashkar, Phadnis, Daftardar, Chitnis, Bakshi, Senakarte, Rajajdnya, Potnis, Shiknis, Sarkhel Jinsi, Munshi, etc.

Sarlashkar - Sarlashkar was Balawantrao Raje Bhosle. After him Khanderao Raje Shirke was appointed on 30th September 1827.[114]

Phadnis - Krishnarao Hanamant Kanade was appointed as Phadnis in the beginning. After him Bapu Kanho was assigned to that office on 30th September 1827.[115]

The main duty of a Phadnis[116] was to write Kird or daily accounts and to compare it with the treasury accounts of payments and receipts. He was to specify the amount of the different kind of coins in the payments, and receipts and balance. He was every day to procure the total amount of kird which was generally in the handwriting of the Diwan. On the following day he was to give in the kind to the Daftardar for the purpose of all items being posted under their proper heads in the Daftar. Whenever the Phadnis requires papers on accounts from the Daftar they were immediately to be prepared and promptly given to the Phadnis by the Daftardar. The Phadnis was always to see whether the papers of the Daftar were speedily prepared or whether delay occurred he was to represent the same to the king stating the reason for it.

It was the duty of Phadnis to see that the muster and pay accounts of the swars and shibandis were properly made out. Generally Daroghas kept the muster and made descriptive lists of the swars and shibandis.

These musters were inspected by the phadnis and under his superintendence the payment of those troops were made.

All orders of the king for discharging and entertaining public servants, were to be written in the phadnis's daftar and entered in his kird with dates. The phadnis was supposed to maintain a record of all orders for payments on the treasury and the treasury accounts. It was his duty to observe the conduct of the Daftardars, Sarsubhedars and Mamlatdars and to see whether they acquit themselves according to the orders of the king. In the absence of the Daftardar, the Phadnis was to perform his duties.

Krishnarao Kanade, who was the Phadnis in the Raja's court received a salary of Rs. 500 per month with Rs. 100 palanquin allowance Rs. 90 allowance for tent carriage and Rs. 10 for mashalji (torch-bearer) allowance. Total Rs. 700 per month.[117]

Daftardar - Daftardar[118] was to act under the orders of the Phadnis.

All the revenue accounts of the country and petas were strictly investigated by the Daftardar. He was to inform every thing to Phadnis.

When the 'Jama-bandi' of all the petas were fixed, the Daftardar was to examine the sole of the

collections and balance at the end of each month and when balances were outstanding, it was his duty to investigate their causes. He was to explain to the king the Jama (receipts) and Khurch (expenditure) and all increases or deficiencies. He was to observe whether the balancesheet of the treasury, a list of swars and shibandis, their payments were written according to custom or not and to rectify mistakes, if any.

The daftardar was to furnish all papers required from the daftar according to the notes or requisitions received from the Phadnis. At the end of the year he was to keep ready the whole accounts of jama and khurch and Talebund.

The monthly salary of Vasudeo Mahadeo Abhyankar, a Daftardar, was Rs. 300 with Rs. 60 palanquin allowance and Rs. 40 for tent carriage.[119]

Vasudev Mahadev Abhyankar, was replaced by Yashwantrao Godbole, Sarsubhedar on 24th August 1827.[120]

Chitnis - Chitnis was Balawantrao Malhar.

All papers regarding Enams, Watans, Jagirs and Saranjams were to be written by the Chitnis.[121] He was also to write the papers regarding the release or usurption of personal property.

It was Chitnis who wrote all regulations,

treaties agreements and orders from Government called <u>Takid Patras</u>.

The following papers were prepared in the department of Chitnis.

i) Papers regarding the settlement of disputes about watan,

ii) Papers regarding penances (prayaschit)

iii) Papers levying fines.

All the letters from Jagirdars were opened by the Chitnis in the presence of the king. All letters coming from the Mamlatdars and others were opened and read out by the Chitnis to the king. It was he, who entered in his book all the letters from the department of the phadnis and Nyayadhish.

The Chitnis was to offer the seal to all papers according to the orders of the king. He was to fold up all papers and to place the seal on the cover and to dispatch them according to their destination.

The monthly salary of Balawantrao Chitnis in 1820 was Rs. 200,with Rs. 60 allowance of palanquin and Rs. 40 for tent carriage.[122]

Bakshi was Balawantrao Ramchandra. After his death, his son Sakharam Balawant was appointed.

Dinkarrao Mohite was appointed as Senakarte, on 30th September 1827.[123]

Rajadnya, this office was assigned to Kesho Yeshwant Akate.

Potnis was Bhivrao Potnis,[124] whose salary was Rs. 100 per month in the year 1820.[125]

Shiknis, this office was assigned to Amritrao Upadhye. After his death Sakharam Ballal Kanhere was appointed.

Sarkhel Jinsi, was assigned to Kusaji Raje Mahadik on 30th September 1827.[126]

Hazi Mirza Fazal Ali was appointed as Munshi. His salary was Rs. 80 per month in the year 1821.

The functions of above-mentioned Darakdars, though not specifically mentioned in our records, it may be presumed that they must be performing their traditional duties.

We hardly find any change in this system under Shahaji, except the appointment of certain new persons.

Yashwant Trimbak Faujdar was appointed to the office of Diwan. Sakharam Bapuji was appointed to the office of Phadnis. Sakharam Ballal Kanhere was appointed to the office of Shiknis. Khanderao Raje Shirke as Sarlashkar remained the same under Shahaji, but when he was appointed as Senapati his eldest son Abaji Raje was assigned to that post, when Khanderao Shirke died, the office of Senapati was given to him by the British.[127] Kesho Yashwant Faujdar was appointed as

chitnis, who was replaced by Vasudeo Krishna Mahajani. Janrao Bhoite was appointed as Senakarte in 1843. Mudhoji Raje Mahadik was appointed as Bakshi while Rajadhya was assigned to Balwantrao Bhosle.[128] Ramchandra Gangadhar was appointed as daftardar. After his death his two sons were appointed in 1844. Potnis was Ramchandra Bhivrao.[129]

'Peta' Administration

The territory under Pratapsinha was divided into 'Subhas' which were sub-divided into 'petas', each having a number of villages.

There were two Subhas : Satara[130] and Pandharpur,[131] and eleven petas namely Satara, Jawli, Targaon, Karad, Walwe, Wai, Koregaon, Pandharpur, Khatav, Khanapur and Bijapur. The first seven 'petas' came under the subha Satara and remaining four came under the subha Pandharpur.

The term 'Peta'[132] seems to have been used for the first time. The earlier terms like 'turf' or 'mahal' as administrative units were also used in some documents of this period.[133] They were synonymous with peta.

Sarsubhedar - The two subhas were placed in charge of two Sarsubhedars. In the month of May 1820, James Grant appointed Yashwantrao Bapuji Godbole

and Ramchandra Gangadhar Joshi as Sarsubhedars.[134] He believed that the appointment of Sarsubhedars 'gives the Mamlatdars something to look up to'. He thought if they (Sarsubhedars) act as a check on abuses which they certainly do they also frequently retard the progress of the Mamlatdars.[135]

Certain number of petas were assigned to each Sarsubhedar for supervision. Sarsubhedar of Satara was to supervise the seven petas under Satara, while the Sarsubhedar of Pandharpur was to look after the remaining four petas.

The Sarsubhedars were held responsible for any dereliction of duty on the part of the Mamlatdar.

The 'kucheree' of each Mamlatdar was constantly inspected by the Sarsubhedar and he was to report to the Raja about the persons who were to hold the office or who were negligent in their duties.

A letter was sent to Dajiba Joshi, Sarsubhedar, by the Raja that the Huzur did not yet receive a list from the Mamlatdars under his charge, about how much revenue was collected and remained and how much '<u>Tagai</u>' (loans to the farmers) was given. Pratapsinha further wrote that he (sarsubhedar) should send a letter to mamlatdar to send a list to Huzur as early as possible.[136]

Pratapsinha wrote a letter to both the Sarsubhedars that he should receive letters from both of them about the progress they have made in their respective 'petas', particularly regarding the collection of revenue, Tagai, etc.[137] Dajiba Joshi inspected personally the accounts of peta Bijapur and prepared a statement regarding the actual collection, arrears and Tagai, and submitted the same to the Raja with his remarks.[138]

The Sarsubhedar was assisted by two karkuns and two jasuds, in discharging his duties.

The pay of both the Sarsubhedars, when they were appointed in 1820, was Rs. 300 per month,[139] but it was raised by the Raja in October 1821 by Rs. 50.[140]

Yashwantrao Godbole was replaced by Gopinath Appaji Tilak on 30th September 1827,[141] and Pandharpur, Wai, Khatav and Bijapur were given under his supervision, while Dajiba Joshi, Sarsubhedar was given under his control the remaining seven petas.[142]

Mamlatdar - He was the head of the peta and he exercised much authority over the territory under his charge.[143] They remained the backbone of the new administration, as before. But their position was greatly changed after 1818. Under the old Government some had acquired wealth and wielded much power, and commanded respect from the people, but under the new

system both their powers and salaries were to be determined by the Government. Elphinstone in his instructions to the collectors had mentioned how much salary a Mamlatdar should receive. According to him a Mamlatdar's salary should vary between Rs. 150 and Rs. 70 per month, in proportion to the size of his taluk.[144] Under the Peshwa, in some provinces the heads of Taluqs were under the direct control of the central government. The new system created the office of Sarsubhedar to serve as a link between the Mamlatdar and the government.

Main duties of the Mamlatdar were to superintend the collection of the revenue, to manage the police, to receive civil and criminal complaints and to send report of his peta to the Huzur every month.[145]

Of all the duties of the mamlatdar the first and foremost was settling and collecting the revenue. He was not allowed to make changes or innovations without previous orders from the government.[146]

When a Patil refused to assemble a panchayat or when either party objected to having its dispute settled in its own village or if the parties were not satisfied with the decision of their villagemen, they could appeal to the Mamlatdar or complain to the Shekdar who could advise the Patil or report to the Mamlatdar. When a complaint reached to the Mamlatdar,

he could direct the patil to assemble a panchayat or grant an order on the patil of neighbouring village after consulting the parties concerned. The Mamlatdar could also dismiss the complaint if he was satisfied to do so, but the circumstances under which he took decision in such cases was to be recorded briefly in his monthly report to the Government.

When no amicable adjustment could be effected and the value of the suit was considerable and when complaint was made to the mamlatdar, he should call the parties and try to settle the dispute amicably in the first instance; but if they persisted in requiring a panchayat he had to assemble one. It was assembled in his 'kucheree'. The Mamlatdar might punish the offending party by a fine not more than Rs. 2 or by confinement among the lower classes in the village <u>Dharmashala</u> for a period not exceeding 48 hours. In all other cases like murder, highway robbery, house breaking, etc. where the Mamlatdar felt, the parties deserving a severe punishment he was to send them to the Huzur taking care that they were well guarded and if necessary hand cuffed or chained but on no occasion to use further severity that was absolutely necessary for their security.

Mamlatdar was to furnish at the end of each month with their other accounts, a statement of all

crimes committed in his peta and the steps that were taken to punish the offenders and a list of petty offences with the punishments awarded under the authority given him. He was never allowed on any occasion or account to inflect the slightest corporal punishment, or to use severity in obtaining confessions.

In instructing and directing the servants in peta, he was to use his best discretion. He was required to be particularly attentive to the conduct of Shekdars, to see that they were more active and make themselves perfectly acquainted with the villages under their immediate care. He was also to see that peons were stationed on the principal roads, for the purpose of procuring supplies for troops and passengers, they must keep a strict eye on their proceedings and endeavour to procure the necessary articles, and see that they were paid for.

Mamlatdar was to report on the good or bad behaviour of those working under him. If the complaints against them proved correct, they were fined. If a servant excels in his duties, he was rewarded with promotion at the earliest opportunity.

Mamlatdar was always to endeavour to impress on the Patils of villages the necessity of maintaining peace and order in their areas.

Mamlatdars and other public servants were informed that they must depend on their pay for subsistance that they were on no account be allowed to trade. All public servants were allowed to enjoy their Enams but never to have any share or participation in the cultivation of any 'sheri' land, under their charge.

If the Mamlatdar was proved guilty of corrupt practices, he was dismissed from his office, without any chance of re-employment in the Government. Narsinha Khare, Mamlatdar of Khatav des was dismissed by Grant as he received bribe and granted Enams to three persons without the permission of the Government.[147]

The Mamlatdar was fined if he made delay in sending the accounts to the Raja. Some times they did not receive salary till they submit their accounts to the Huzur.[148] For example, Antaji Pant Rahalkar, Mamlatdar of peta Walwe, did not receive his salary due to delay in sending accounts to the Huzur.[149]

Bapuji Appaji Bhide, Mamlatdar of peta Targaon, was dismissed on the 1st July 1821 by Grant because of his unsatisfactory and oppressive administration.[150]

On the other hand, if the performance of a Mamlatdar found satisfactory, he was rewarded. For

example, Chinto Bhikaji, the Mamlatdar of peta Karad, received reward of Rs. 250 for his good administration. The revenue collection of his peta was satisfactory, there were very few judicial cases in his peta and the law and order was well maintained by him.[151]

A Mamlatdar, who was strict and honest in his work, one who had completed the work of Jama-Bandi, who had very few judicial cases and who had well-provided food and other necessities to the British army passing through his peta, was considered for a rise in salary. For example Pratapsinha raised the salary of the Mamlatdar of peta Walwe by Rs. 20 for his satisfactory performance.[152]

Sometimes a Mamlatdar was rewarded for performing his police duties well. For example Baba Tilak, Mamlatdar of peta Karad rewarded by the Raja because he arrested the dacoites personally.[153]

Withal Gopal Mamlatdar of Satara, Sadashiv Krishna of Jawli, Chinto Narayan of Khanapur received Rs. 100 salary per month in the year 1821 while Ramchandra Abaji of Targaon and Chinto Mahipat of Koregaon received Rs. 110 per month in the same year. Gopinath Appaji of Karad and Laxuman Baburao of Wai received Rs. 140 per month. Kashi Ranganath of Khatav and Pandurang Vasudeo of Bijapur received Rs. 150 per

month.[154] Antaji Ballal of Walwe peta and Ramchandra Kanhere of Pandharpur received highest salary of Rs. 170 per month.[155]

Shirastedar - He was to assist the Mamlatdar. He was also known as phadnis.[156]

The principal duty of a shirastedar was to assist the mamlatdar in superintending and making out all accounts and looking after the treasury and records.

He was to keep account of the receipts and disbursement of a peta, how much revenue was collected and how much remained. He was also to report to the Mamlatdar about various judicial cases, how many were decided and how many remained. If any shirastedar failed in his duty, he was removed from his office.[157] For example, Girmaji Appaji was suspended because of his unsatisfactory accounts.[158]

Mamlatdar and Shirastedar were assisted by Karkuns. The number of karkuns of each peta was not the same. For example, in peta Satara there were four karkuns while in peta Pandharpur there were seven.

Jababnis - There was a jababnis in each peta.[159] He was a clerk, who attended the mamlatdar constantly. He was to write his (Mamlatdar's) letters to the Huzur and orders to Shekdars, Patils and Kulkarnis.[159a]

<u>Nyayadhish</u> - In some petas we come across an office of Nyayadhish.[160] We do not find references about his functions. But as his name denotes he must be performing judicial duties.

<u>Shekdar</u> - Another important officer of peta administration was Shekdar. In each peta there were many Shekdars. Perhaps the number of Shekdars of each peta might depended upon its size. At Koregaon there were seven Shekdars while at Karad there were twelve.[161]

A Shekdar was (merely) a revenue officer, above Patil. He possessed no judicial powers, naturally could not perform any sort of judicial duty.

When the season of cultivation commences the Shekdar had to visit to every village and by giving attention to the existing orders, he was to give every encouragement to cultivate carefully informing the mamlatdar of all his proceedings and sending him a monthly account of the progress of cultivation and crops in the villages under his charge. He was allowed two shibandis for accompanying him to the villages and obtaining information respecting the state of cultivation. The shekdar was generally always on tour staying in a large village for two days and finishing his work in a small village in one day. It was expected of him that he would be incessant and vigilant

in his enquiries and exertion.

The shekdar was expected to furnish with a correct statement of the villages regarding their revenues, present state of affairs and the kauls (agreements) that were in vogue. He was supposed to prevent the Patils from exacting any unauthorised dues under any pretext and to prevent them from giving good lands at inferior rates on false kauls or from appropriating lands from any one to their own use or that of their friends and relatives.

When money for Tagai was issued, on account of any cultivator, the Shekdar was very careful, not only did he see that the whole amount was paid to the ryot but also examine the actual stock for which purpose advance was made like purchasing seeds, etc.

If any Shekdar failed in performing his duties he was fined or even suspended. For example, a shekdar of Pali was dismissed by Grant for three reasons. He had no information about lavni (cultivation), how much land under cultivation and how much land remained cultivated and lastly because of he did not prepare the statement of accounts.[162] Dinkar Vithal of Bijapur peta was suspended for his failure in compiling the accounts.[163] If a shekdar performed his duties well, i.e. cent per cent collection of

revenue, brought most of the land under cultivation, left little land uncultivated, he was rewarded.[164]

Saraf - There was an office of saraf in each peta.[165] He was to assay the coins which came from Mamlatdar to the Huzur, and Huzur to the Mamlatdar. If any false coin was found, it was saraf who was to pay that coin.[166]

Kotwal - There was also an office of kotwal.[167] We come across this office only in three petas, i.e. Satara, Pandharpur and Bijapur. At Satara, there were two kotwals while at Pandharpur and Bijapur only one.

There were also a number of Jasuds and Ramoshis who were to supply information about the activities in the 'peta' to the officers concerned.

The same administrative structure continued under Raja Shahaji. The only change made was that some additional powers such as police and judicial given to the Shekdars.

Local Administration

The village administration was mostly regulated by custom. The village was generally economically self-sufficient and politically autonomous. "These communities", says Elphinstone, "contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect

their members if all other Governments were withdrawn."[168]

The village community was mainly composed of three classes of persons viz. the Watandars, the Mirasdars and the Uparis.

The officers of the village were the Patil, the Kulkarni and the Chaugula.

Patil was the village headman. He possessed both revenue and judicial powers. He was responsible for the collection of revenue of the village. After 1818, the importance of Patil in the village administration was reduced. The powers given to the Mamlatdar under the new system encroached on the powers enjoyed by the village headman. The Patil could neither levy exactions on the ryots, nor could defraud the government by granting inams. After 1818 he was permitted to charge the village for his travelling expenses only, when the government affairs required him to proceed beyond the range of the Mamlatdar's charge under which he resided. The power of the Patil therefore in regard to all matters connected with revenue was greatly circumscribed by the British introduction of the ryotwar settlement.

To assist the Patil in his duties there was an other officer called Chaugula. He was to act

under the orders of the Patil; he also had taken care of the Kulkarni's records.

The main duty of the Kulkarni was to maintain the village accounts and to assist the Patil in the realisation of the village revenue. He maintained various types of village records and accounts. The most important of them were the general measurement and description of all the village lands, 'the dehazadas' or the list of fields with their names, size and quality, the tenants cultivating them, and the rent paid by them, the list of inhabitants, the statement of their dues to the Government, the statement of the instalments of revenue which were collected, and the yearly accounts.

The Mahars and Mangs were the village watchmen. Mahars watched over the boundaries of the village lands. He was also an important member of the village police organization.

Military Administration

Military Administration under Pratapsinha

Military force of the Raja may be classified into two divisions.

(1) Horsemen (2) Shibandis

First division consisted of (a) auxiliary horses or Monghalai Rissala (b) Shilledars (c) Huzur paga.

Second division consisted of (a) Shibandis (b) Gadkaries.

Following were the numbers of the Raja's military in 1822.

	Horse	Foot
Monghalai rissala	500	-
Shilledars	200	-
Huzur paga	100	-
Shibandis	-	3000
Gadkaries	-	600
	800	3600[169]

1) Horse Men

Auxiliary Horses

The principal part of the Raja's military force was the Rissala of 500 horse. After the war Monghalai Rissala which belonged to the late Cap. Spillor was transferred to Raja Pratapsinha by the East India Company. The main object of the company behind this, was to provide employment for needy soldiers who had no hopes of other employment.[170] No doubt, it was transferred by the East India Company on certain terms and conditions. Their pay of rupees 35 to each man, was guaranteed by the British Government during good behaviour, and when a horse died,

the owner was to receive his pay at the end of the month in which the casualty happened, and one month in advance as gratuity.[171] When the horses become unfit for service, what should be done of them was not clearly mentioned in the regulations.

In the Rojnishi of Pratapsinha it was mentioned that Pratapsinha gave a Nishan (flag) to the Monghalai Rissala in the Dasara festival of 1821.[172]

In the Monghalai Rissala at the highest level there was a Rissaldar or Sardar and at its lowest level there was the Swar and in between them there were Jamadars, Dafedars, Karkuns, Nishandars (flag holders), and Nagarchi.[173]

There were two sardars, each received Rs. 500 as monthly salary. There were eight jamadars in Monghalai Rissala, each received Rs. 150 pay per month. There were twenty four dafedars, each received about Rs. 54 per month. There were sixteen nishandars, each received Rs. 30 per month. There were seven hundred and forty four swar in Monghalai Rissala, each one was paid about Rs. 33 per month.[174]

In consequence of the great defalcation of revenue arising out of bad seasons principally, as well as out of the low prices, in 1824, Raja Pratpsinha determined to curtail the expenses of his administration. He wanted to reduce the number of the

Monghalai Rissala also. But according to the fourth article of the treaty of 25th September 1819, he could not increase or reduce his military force without the permission of the company. John Briggs, through his letter to the commissioner of the Deccan, conveyed the wishes of the Raja, relating to the reduction of the Rissala.[175] About this problem much correspondence and discussion took place between Briggs, Chaplin and Elphinstone. Finally it was decided that the East India Company would look after that Rissala. Then in 1824 the new horsemen were appointed. Pratapsinha told John Briggs that few Marathas, few muslims, some pardesies (non-Maharashtrians) and some Kunbis would be included upon which Briggs agreed and added that men from one caste alone should not be included.[177] With the advice of John Briggs the dress of the new horsemen was fixed. Briggs advised the Raja that their pay should not be more than Rs. 28.[178]

b) Shilledars

The party of shilledars in the Raja's service entertained from the military families in the adjoining country were remarkably fine men. Although they had only thirty rupees per month, each were in general well mounted.[179] James Grant remarked

about them as 'not however so efficient as the Monghalay Ressala although much less troublesome'.[180]

c) Huzur Paga

It consisted of entirely of personal retainers and its number was sufficiently limited in the beginning but later on it was raised by Balawantrao Raje Bhosle.

Pratapsinha appointed Balasaheb Bhosle to look after the Huzur paga.

Jamadar was the highest post of the Huzur paga. Below him was Dafedar, who was followed by Karkun. There were also Nishandars and Bhaldars.[181] There was one jamadar, one Dafedar and two Nishandars in the 'Huzur paga'. Gulam Husain was appointed as jamadar in October 1819.[182] Jamadar received salary of Rs. 150 per month which was the highest one. Dafedar received Rs. 55 per month, while the karkun's salary was Rs. 30 in 1820.[183] The monthly expenditure of the Huzur paga was Rs. 3600.[184]

2) Shibandis

To guard the passes of the country, to protect the treasury coming from the districts, to help in collecting the revenues were the main functions of shibandis. They also had to perform police duties.

The shibandis had also the duties of the town Satara. For example, to guard the Satara jail, or to guard the criminals where they were apprehended.

The chief of the shibandis was called subhedar; there were also jamadars, dafedars and karkuns.

Subhedar received Rs. 57.50 salary per month, while jamadar received about Rs. 17 salary per month.[185]

A dafedar received about Rs. 11 salary per month, while a karkun received Rs. 12 salary per month.[186]

In August 1818 there were about 3700 shibandis but Grant gradually reduced to 3000.[187] In 1819, the number of gadkaris was 450 but later it was increased. The six months pay of a gadkari was Rs. 225.[188]

A monthly muster of the shibandis and horse including the Raja's paga was maintained by Grant in the beginning when the whole internal administration was handed over to the Raja, he started keeping a monthly muster of shibandis rissala and of Huzur paga on the first day of every month.[189] The muster rolls were written with a description of the men and horses. The muster and description rolls were copied and kept with the Phadnis. The muster was personally superintended by the Diwan.[190] The pay accounts were framed

every month according to the increase and reduction on the rolls by the karkuns and officers in charge and made over to the daftar of Phadnis and that was reported to the Diwan.[191] The monthly salaries were paid to soldiers in the presence of the Phadnis. On the pay account the sum total was inserted by the Phadnis.[192] All papers relating to enlistments and discharges, furloughs and return from leave were written by the respective Daroghas of the swars or shibandis and were shown to the Diwan. The Phadnis after putting the dates and entering them in his daftar, returned the papers for preservation in the respective daftars of the daroghas of the swars and shibandis.[193]

Military Administration under Raja Shahaji

There was one local discipline regiment in his service. This was formed by Raja Shahaji out of an indisciplined men of 1400 or 1500 men, formerly entertained by Pratapsinha who were armed and dressed like soldiers. The best of these men were in 1839, selected by Raja Shahaji, and formed into a regiment, 630 strong which was then placed under the superintendence of the staff officer of Satara with native commissioned officers, and in 1844 commissioned officers of the British army, to act as instructors.

That regiment was dressed and disciplined like British soldiers. It had also a body of golundaz.

The native force of Shahaji's Government consisted of

i) A body of horse dressed and armed like the British cavalry	200
ii) A body of horse dressed and armed like the British irregular cavalry	201
iii) A body of horse dressed and armed like Maratha cavalry	160
iv) A body of contingent horse furnished by jagirdars dressed and armed like the British irregular cavalry	235
v) A body of contingent horse furnished by saranjamdars	26
	822[194]

There was also a body of shibandis amounting to 3,878 men, armed with swords and matchlocks, who performed the usual duties of collecting of revenues, guarding the treasures, escorting prisoners, etc.

There was also a body of seth sandis - a specie of local militia, who were to be called out, in case the government wanted their services. These men had assignments in land and were only paid when actually doing duty but they were valuable auxiliaries, usefully employed when garrisoning the hill forts and in other duties in time of war.[195]

Notes

1. PRC, xii, GG - The secret committee of the court of directors, 17.10.1822, p. 497 fl.
2. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. PRC, xiii, ME-GG, 18.6.1818, p. 394 fl.
8. JG-ME, 23.3.1819, refer to in R.D. Choksey, Aftermath, (Poona,), p. 260 fl.
9. See Kenneth Ballhatchet, Social policy and social change in western India, 1818-1830, (London, 1957), p. 20.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid, p. 21.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. JG-ME, 23.3.1819, refer to in R. D. Choksey, op.cit., p. 260.
16. In Marathi Daftar Rumal 2 (Ed.) by V. L. Bhave, on page 66 it showed in the following proportions.

14281	Maharaj Chhatrapati	2273	Maisaheb
1343	Wada pahila (1st wife of the Raja)	3750	Bhausaheb
		3750	Appasaheb
602			
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16227		9773	

26000

In the English correspondence it is stated in the following manner. (See K. Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 21)

Raja	Rs. 15075
Rani	Rs. 1152
Raja's brothers	Rs. 7500
Raja's mother	Rs. 2273

	Rs. 26000

17. See A. R. Kulkarni, James Cunningham Grant Duff, (Poona, 1971), p. 51.
18. See Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 22.
19. Ibid, p. 234.
20. A. R. Kulkarni, op.cit., p. 63.
21. SRC 5/2:4, JG-ME, 23.3.1819.
22. MSS EUR F 88 Box 6B, JG-ME, 30.7.1818.
23. Ibid.
24. DC-268, JG-ME, 5.12.1818.

25. DCIS, R.No. 55, file No. 12.

26. Roj. 3, 4.6.1820, p. 44.
The boundaries of the new state were fixed at Sahyadri hills or Ghats on the west, river Nira and Bhima on the north, Nizam's frontier on the east and the Krishna and Warna on the south.

27. MSS EUR D:464, reply to question 1.

28. Ibid.

29. The six jagirdars of Satara were Pratinidhi of Aundh, Pant Sachiv of Bhor, Bhosle of Akkalkot, Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Daphale of Jath and Shaikh Mira of Wai.

30. DC-272, JG-WC, 1.5.1821.

31. SMD-pha. R.No. 147. See also HF, Marathi R.No. 4.

32. MSS EUR D:464, reply to the question 1.

33. T. Ogilvy, 'memoir on the Satara territory', 1.5.1854, BGR (N.S.), XLI, Satara, 1857, pp. 3-4.

34. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, resources and co.', BGR (N.S.), XLI, Satara, 1857, p. 170.

35. The black soil of the western division was the most productive whilst those to the east was lighter and less fertile. Karad was the richest agricultural Taluq while Bijapur the poorest.

36. SMD-pha., R.No. 131. The British purposely destroyed some forts which were strategically important and might be useful in war.

37. DC-464, Elphinstone's circular to collectors, 10.7.1818.

38. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 2.9.1818. See also DC-268, JG-ME, 5.12.1818.

39.

Name of the peta	Estimated revenue about Rs.	Name of Mamlatdar
1. Satara	60,000	Vithal Pant
2. Jawli	63,000	Mahipatrao Ganesh
3. Targaon	77,000	Narsingrao
4. Karad	1,62,000	Abaji Nahar
5. Battis Shirale	1,00,000	Pandurang Vasudev
6. Walwe	93,000	Antaji Rahalkar
7. Khatao	96,000	Narsingrao Kari
8. Mayani	76,000	Bhagwantrao Laxuman
9. Khanapur	50,000	Vyankat Yesho replaced by Chinto Raghunath
10. Pandharpur	54,000	Balajirao
11. Baloni	68,000	Kashi Raghunath
12. Phaltan	91,000	Moro Govind Natu

13. Wai	1,14,000	Yashwantrao Godbole
14. Koregaon	1,06,000	Shrinivasrao replaced by Kanhere

40. DC-270, 25.5.1820.

41. DC-272, 1.5.1821. See also Roj. 3, 26.5.1820, p. 32.

42. Map of the Satara Territory, March 1851, Pune Archives.

43. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

44. MST, March 1851, PA.

45. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

46. MST, March 1851, PA.

47. Ibid.

48. SMD-pha., R.No. 141.

49. MST, March 1851, PA.

50. Ibid.

51. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

52. MST, March 1851, PA.

53. Ibid.

54. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

55. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 12.7.1818.

56. MST, March 1851, PA.

57. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

58. MST, March 1851, PA.

59. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

60. MST, March 1851, PA.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

65. MST, March 1851, PA.

66. Ibid.

67. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

68. MST, March 1851, PA.

69. The pargana named 'Gutay' we do not find in the Marathi documents of phadposhi daftar, R.No. 147 but only find in HF, Marathi R.No.4.

70. Roj. 3, 12.9.1820, p. 145.

71. Roj. 3, 11.9.1820, p. 143.

72. A. R. Kulkarni, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 67-68.

73. Ibid., p. 68.

74. 'मग बोलिले की माहाराजांनी जे नित्यावृत्त होअील ते वहिवर ल्याहावे'.
Roj. 1, 12.10.1818, p. 1.

75. Roj. 1, 15.7.1819, p. 103.

76. 'नंतर प्रांट येऊन बोलिले . ती क्लमे. वाक्ब व्हावे. गावचे पाहाणे व शेते व जमाखर्च पाहावा...'.
Roj. 1, 24.10.1818, p. 5.

77. Roj. 4, 18.10.1820, p. 7.

78. 'राजाचे हातात सारे येअील परंतू माहाराजांनी म्हेन्त करणे म्हणजे मी सारे कामावर मगदूर करुन देअीन'.
Roj. 1, 18.10.1819, p. 150.

79. 'मामलेदार आसा आसावा की फरडा व साता-यात केणाची ममता नसावी व वर्दी सर्वांवर व माहाराजा माणसांवर ही ठेवावी'.
Roj. 3, 25.9.1820, p. 157.

80. 'दिवाण सारे कामास चांगला पाहिजे व दिवाण आसा ठेवावा की त्याचे मनात धनीपणा करावा आसा न ठेवावा व आसा मगदूरही देवू नये दिवाणास'.
Roj. 4, 14.8.1821, pp. 352-53.

81. Roj. 4, 30.11.1820, p. 43.

82. 'राज्याचे कामाविसी येक दस्तुर कामाचा कामा प्रारे ठेवणे'.
Roj. 3, 17.7.1820, p. 80.

83. Roj. 4, 30.11.1820, p. 43.

84. 'कोणी फिर्याद केली तरी लागलीच जप्ती करू नये. चौकसीने करावे'.
Roj. 1, 30.11.1818, p. 9.

85. Roj. 3, 3.7.1820, p. 70.

86. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.

87. Ibid, 13.2.1820.

88. G. S. Sardesai, <u>Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag-3</u> (Bombay, 1932), pp. 594-95.

89. A. R. Kulkarni in his book 'James Cunningham Grant Duff well described the friendship between the Raja and James Grant.

90. Kenneth Ballhatchet, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 238.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., p. 239.

93. Ibid.

94. Roj. 4, 3.7.1821, p. 283.

95. Roj. 4, 22.2.1821, p. 122.

96. Roj. 4, 3.7.1821, p. 283.

97. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 239.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid, p. 240.

100. '... व ग्रांट साहेबाचा कायेदा सारा ठेवला माहाराजानी हे फार ठिक आहे, ब्रिक बोले.'
Roj. 9, 22.7.1826, p. 182.

101. DCIS, R.No. 55, file No.12.

102. V. G. Bhide, Satarche Shrimanta Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Yanche Waushacha Wa Pratinidhi ani Ashta-Pradhan Yancha itihas, (Bhor, 1866), pp. 91-92.

103. Roj. 14, 28.5.1831, p. 278. See also V. G. Bhide, op.cit., pp. 91-92.

104. V. G. Bhide, op.cit., pp. 91-92. See also Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p. 1.

105. Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p. 2.

106. V. G. Bhide, op.cit., pp. 91-92.

107. Ibid.

108. Roj. 11, 21.4.1828, p. 205.

109. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821. See also DC-271.

110. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821. See also DC-271.

111. Roj. 1, 2.11.1818, p. 1.

112. Ibid.

113. V. G. Bhide, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 109-110.

114. Ibid, pp. 93-94. See also Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p. 2.

115. Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p. 3. See also V. G. Bhide, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 93-94.

116. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821. See also DC-271.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Roj. 10, 24.8.1827, p. 247.

121. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821. See also DC-271.

122. Ibid.

123. Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p.3. See also V. G. Bhide, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 93-94.

124. V. G. Bhide, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 92-93.

125. Roj. 2, 6.2.1820, p. 63.

126. Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p. 20.

127. V. G. Bhide, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 110-112. See also R. D. Choksey, <u>Raja Shahji of Satara 1839-1848</u>, (Poona, 1974), pp. 135-136.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

131. K. Daftar, R.No. 14.

132. In Molesworth's Marathi-English Dictionary, he has given the exact meaning of the word 'peta' as "division of country consisting of a number of small towns and villages, a sub-division of a pargana or Taluka".

133. Roj. 5, 30.5.1822, p. 248. See also Roj. 1, 15.1.1819, p. 42. See also Roj. 5, 31.3.1822, p. 168.

134. Roj. 3, 22.5.1820, p. 26. See also SRC 5/2: 15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.

135. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.

136. Roj. 7, 15.2.1824, p. 90.

137. Roj. 5, 14.8.1822, p. 298.

138. Roj. 9, 9.8.1826, p. 198.

139. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.

140. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821. See also DC-271.

141. Roj. 11, 30.9.1827, p. 3.

142. Roj. 11, 3.10.1827, p. 21.

143. 'पेट्यात माम्लेदाराखेरीज हकुम दुसऱ्याचा नाही'.
Roj. 5, 12.5.1822, pp. 237-38.

144. DC-464, Elphinstone's circular to collectors, 10.7.1818.

145. Mountstuart Elphinstone, <u>Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa</u>, 2nd Ed., (Bombay, 1872), p. 31.

146. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 10.7.1818.

147. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 18.5.1819.

148. Roj. 13, 13.1.1830, p. 146.

149. Ibid.

150. 'लोकांवर जुलुम केला व खराब काम करीत व कामात सुस्त....'
SMD-pha., R.No. 145.

151. Roj. 7, 9.1.1824, p. 680.

152. 'जो मामलेदार कामात चोख आहे, ज्याचे जमाबंदीचे काम आटोपले आहे, फिर्यादी नाहीत व लष्कराचा दाणा वैरणीची व्यवस्था ठिक....'. '...येथील मामलेदार वाळवे पेठयाचे काम चांगले राखले म्हणून तयेनात १५० ती १७० केली...'
Roj. 4, 3.1.1821, pp. 78-79.

153. Roj. 5, 30.9.1822, pp. 335-336.

154. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

155. Ibid.

156. Roj. 2, 8.11.1819, p. 8.

157. Roj. 5, 20.4.1822, p. 210.

158. Ibid.

159. SMD-pha., R.No.131.

159a. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 10.7.1818.

160. Ibid.

161. Ibid.

162. Roj. 1, 17.4.1819, p. 69.

163. Roj. 6, 16.1.1823, p. 60.

164. 'वसुली बाकी नाही थोडी व लागण होती, पड नाही, ते सेखदार अुत्तम. तीही पैकी येक कलम कमी ते मध्यम. तीही कलमास कमी ते कनिष्ठ आसे पाहून कनिष्ठ व मध्यम यांच्यात तयेनात ज्याजती होती ती कमी करून अुत्तमास कमी होती या बदल ज्याजती केले. सरकारात जाजती नाही. व येक सेखदार फार हुशार मामलेजोगा सत्रब्र अिनाम दिला रु।। १० या प्रा'.

Roj. 7, 6.12.1823, p. 41.

165. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

166. 'गावचा अैवज मामलेदार याजवळ येअील ते मामलेदार याजवळ सराफ असेल त्याने पारखून घ्यावा आणि अैवजा बरोबर हुजुर येअून पारखून द्यावा. व हुजुरून अैवज मामलेदार याजकडे जाअील ते माहालचे सराफाने पारखून ध्यावा. मामलेदाराकडून अैवज हुजुर येअील व हुजुरून मामलेदार याजकडे अैवज जाअील त्यांत खोटा रु।। निघेल ते माहालचे सराफाने भरून द्यावा.'

SMD-N, R.No. 322.

167. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

168. Elphinstone, Report, p. 21.

169. DC-274, JG-WC, 7.2.1822. See also SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 7.2.1822.

170. DC-278, JB-WC, 3.12.1824.

171. DC-274, JG-WC, 7.2.1822.

172. Roj. 5, 6.10.1821, p. 1.

173. DC-276. See also SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

174. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

175. DC-278, JB-WC, 3.12.1824.

176. Roj. 8, 11.8.1825, p. 178. See also Roj. 8, 13.8.1825, p. 179.

177. Roj. 8, 16.8.1825, p. 180.

178. Ibid., p. 182.

179. DC-274, JG-WC, 7.2.1822. See also SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 7.2.1822.

180. Ibid.

181. Roj. 1, 19.10.1819, p. 148.

182. Ibid.

183. Roj. 2, 28.1.1820, pp. 56-57.

184. Ibid.

185. SMD-pha., R.No. 131.

186. Ibid.

187. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 20.1.1819.

188. Roj. 2, 13.12.1819. p. 30.

189. Roj. 6, 1.7.1823, p. 160.

190. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.1.1821.

191. Ibid.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid.

194. R. D. Choksey, Raja Shahji of Satara 1839-1848, (Poona, 1974), pp. 144-145.

195. Ibid.

APPENDIX C

श्री

यादी येकंदर बदल मुशाहीरा वगैर राजमंडळ हुजूर कचेरी व पेटया निहाये सुधा सुरा इसने अशरीन मया तैन व अल्लफ दरम्हा नेमणूक रुपये

हुजूर कचेरीकडील दरकदार व कारकून वगैर

१०००	विठल बलाल दिवाण		
१६६५	निसबत दफतर		
		७००	कृष्णराव हणमंत फडणीस
		४००	वासुदेव महादेव दफ्तरदार
			कारकून
		४०	चिंतामण चिटको भाटये
		५०	सुबाराव व्यंकटेश
		५०	जगन्नाथ आबाजी
		४०	मोरो रघुनाथ खरे
		३५	बालाजी दामोदर केळकर
		३०	मोरो विनायक सहस्त्रबुधे
		३०	नारो सदाशिव पटवर्धन
		३०	गोविंद नारायण

३०	बालाजी गोविंद गोडबोले
३०	देवजी हणमंत
२५	नारो कृष्ण गोखले
२५	भास्कर मल्हार
२५	नारो वासुदेव अभ्यंकर
२५	बालाजी आपाजी भागवत
२५	नारो गंगाधर रानडे
२०	केसो महिपत देशपांडे
२०	दिनकर गणेश पटवर्धन
२०	विसाजी बच्याजी गोडबोले
१५	गणेश कृष्णा गोखले
१६६५	

५६५ निसबत चिटणीसी

३००	बलवंतराव मल्हार चिटणीस
२६५	कारकून
८०	
५०	आबाजी नारायण जोसी
३५	सखाराम रामचंद्र लागू
३०	माधव आत्माराम
२५	राधो बाळकृष्ण वैद्य
३०	रामाजी भगवंत रेणावीकर
१५	जनार्दन गोपाळ
२६५	

८४५ निसबत न्यायधिशी

१०० नाना दिक्षीत आयाचीत

२०० आनंदराव घोंडदेव चितळे

१५० विठल सखाराम पारसनीस

१५०

१०० आपाजी गुंडो

१४५ कारकून

३५ माहादाजी कृष्ण भिडे

२५ गणेश बागाजी जोसी

२० शामजी विठल

२० भोरो आपाजी

३० जिवाजी नरसिंव्ह

१५ गोविंद चिमणाजी

१४५

८४५

४०३ निसबत पोते

१०० यशवंतराव विठल पोतनीस

१०० जयराम रणछोड खजानची

७५ कारकून

३० बाजी हरी येकबोटे

२५ श्रीधर गणेश साठे

२० शिवाजी मार्तंड

७५

१२८ सराफन

४० आनाजी लक्ष्मण बंड

३५ लक्ष्मण रामजी धिंदे

२५ रामजी गोविंद धिंदे

२८ व्यंकटेश म्हाळराव

१२८

४०३

१४० निसबत हशम

५० भिकाजी मोरेश्वर फाटक

२५

३० आबाजी कृष्णा जोसी

२५ गोपाळ बलाल घारे

१४०

१५ भास्कर आबाजी भाटये कारकून कामगारी चौकी माहुली

८० हाजी मिरजा फाजल अली मुनसी

१०० मल्हार रामराव चिटणीस

३७५ डाक्तर साहेब व अिंग्रजी रेटर

१०० डाक्तर

१०० निळोबा

५० माणिकजी

४० जीवनराव

३० गणोबा

४५ बुकबेंडर

३७५

३०० महताप नाअिकिण

१०२ सुतार व लोहार व माता पुनकणारे

८२ सुतार आा ३

४०, २२, २०

१६ लोहार आा १

४ माता पुनकणार आा १

१०२

९३० जासुद वगैर आा १३१ येकूण

८६१ जासुद आा १२१

१० नाअीक आा १

८५१ जासुद १२१ येकूण

१५२ प्राा आा १९ दर ८

६५८ प्राा आा९४ दर ७

३६ प्राा आा ६ दर ६

५ प्राा आा १

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८५१ १२१

८६१

६९ मुतफर्रकात आा १०

१० रक्तवान आा १

१८ मशालची ३ दर ६

५	लोहार आा १
२०	सुतार आा १
१२	कुणबीणी ३ दर ४
४	मंगी आा १

६९	

९३०

३०० सादीलवार खर्च अजमासे

५०० बंदीवान यास पोटगी बा आजमासे

१०० डाक्तर याजकडे देवी काढावया बा

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३० सदासिव रघुनाथ

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३५ वेंकाजी बाजी शेवडये

३० गणेश म्हादेव

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२५ सदासिव सुमदेव जबाबनीस

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२० दादो केशव चवडे पेट भवानी

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३८ भिकाजी वामन सिरस्तेदार

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२० चिमणाजी संभाजी ~~मज~~ नवनीस

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१५ हरी बलाल केळकर

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४० वासुदेव हैबत

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३० महीपत काकाजी जबाबनीस

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१५ मुकुंद लक्ष्मण सरापन

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२० सखाराम बापूजी गोडबोले

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२० रामचंद्र म्हादेव बर्वे

२० बापुजी विठल पालकर

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२० दाजी सदाशिव मिसे

१८ बालाजी कृष्ण कर्वे

१८ सिवराम रघुनाथ जोसी

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१५० कासी रंगनाथ मामलेदार

४५ भास्कर भिकाजी सिरस्तेदारीचे काम चालविणार

१५२ कारकून काम चालविणार

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३५ कृष्णाजी बलाल

३० बालकृष्ण सदासिव माटे

२५ रामचंद्र दामोधर दाणी

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२० गोपाल खंडेराव तासगावकर

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२० गणेश सदासिव भाटे

१८ विसाजी सदासिव आपटे

१५ गणेश प्रभाकर पावगी

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१५ राजाराम वासुदेव गोडशे सराफ

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२५ गणेश बलाल कारकून

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१२ गोलंदाज आा २ दर ६

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३० किल्ले वारनगड

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१० खटाव येथील पाटीलकीचे वहिवाटीस कारकून गणेश सदासिव

१८ जासूद आा ३ दर ६ प्रा

२६ रामोसी आा ५ येकूण

३४ सादिलवार खर्च

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४२ नारो साबाजी सिरस्तेदार

१४७ कारकून ५

३५ जनार्दन बाबूराव गोळे

३२ गणेश वासुदेव लिमये

३० सदाशिव नारायण लिमये

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२२ बाबूराव बापुजी जबाबनीस

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२० नरहर रघुनाथ

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१५ भिकाजी नारायण

२० सखाराम बापूजी

२० गणेश महादेव पिटके

१५ माणको तुकदेव

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१५ कोंडो हरी पनडके

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३० बालाजी सदासिव कानडे नेमणूक अटे येथे

१५ सरापन अंताजी बालाजी

१२ जासुद आा २ दर ६ प्रा

१२ नागेचे अुस्तवारीस आा ३

११ रामोसी आा २ येकूण

२५ सादिलवार खर्च

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१७० रामचंद्र कान्हेरे मामलेदार

५० सिरस्तेदार पांडुरंग भिकाजी

१९७ कारकून ७

३५ बालाजी बापूजी काले

३५ विठल गोविंद थत्ते

३० सदासिव बाबुराव

२८ पांडुरंग महादेव आगासे

२५ बालाजी गोविंद ब्राह्मणे

२२ रामचंद्र चिंतामण

२२ रामचंद्र सदासिव गोडबोले

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२० कृष्णाजी वेंकाजी जबाबनीस

५० वेंकाजी रघुनाथ न्यायाधिसीकडील

१७१ शेखदार आा १०

२० भास्कर राम गोखले

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१८ रामचंद्र सोमनाथ

२० गोविंद विनायेक केळकर

१८ वेंकाजी धोंडदेव

१५ लक्ष्मण बलाल गोगटे

१५ आनंद रावबाजी

१५ विठल रामचंद्र

१५ अंताजी यमाजी

१५ शामजी सुरो

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१५ गोपाळ हरी सराफ

१५ गोविंद जिवाजी कोतवाल

१८ जासुद आ ३ दर ६

३६ रखवालीचे रामोसी आ ८ येकूण

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१५० कारकून आ ५

४० रामचंद्र म्हादेव खरे

३५ माहादाजी धोंडदेव कान्हेरे

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२५ केसो आबाजी माटये

२० बापूजी नारायण वैद्य

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२५ अंताजी चिंतामण जबाबनीस

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१९५ शेखदार आ ११

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२० बालाजी रघुनाथ देशपांडे
२० श्रीनिवास देवराव
२० बाबुराव नागेश
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१५ हरी बापूजी गद्रे
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१५ सदासिव बलाल सरापन
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२० गोविंद बलाल चुनेकर

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२० लक्ष्मण कृष्ण

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२० नारो वासुदेव तांबे

१८ दाजी गोपाल नातू

१५ बापूजी खंडेराव तोफखाने

१५ दामोधर दादाजी पेंढारकर

२० बाहाजी नारायण मालसे

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Satara Maharaj Daftar, Phadposhi Rumal No. 131.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, it can be said, laid the foundation of revenue administration in the Maratha country conquered from the Peshwa. The elaborate 'interrogations' that he circulated among his officers holding independent charges, formed the basis of a general policy throughout the Maratha country. Revenue administration envisages mainly two things : the settlement and the collection of land revenue.

The British administration in the Deccan in the early 19th century was still in its formative stage. Mountstuart Elphinstone who was first the Deccan commissioner and then the Governor of Bombay was comparing his notes with Cornwallis of Bengal, the chief exponent of permanent settlement and Thomas Munro of Madras, the advocate of the Ryotwari system. In view of the circumstances prevailing in his area and the experience of Cornwallis and Munro systems, Mountstuart Elphinstone preferred to try the Munro system in Bombay Presidency and the same was made applicable to the Satara Raj.

Mountstuart Elphinstone was not in favour of

sudden changes in the existing system in the Bombay Presidency. His argument was that the continuity of this system in the Maratha country indicates some vital elements in it. He wanted to move very cautiously, and so his slogan was 'no innovations'. He has outlined his views on Revenue Administration in his report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa in 1819.[1]

Under the Marathas, the lowest administrative unit was the village. The head of each village was the Patil, who had under him an assistant called Chaugula and an accountant called Kulkarni. The Patil was the head of the police and of the administration of justice in his village. He allotted the lands to each cultivators as had no landed property of their own and fixed the rent which each had to pay. He collected the revenue for government from all the ryots, conducted all its arrangements with them and exerted himself to promote the cultivation and the prosperity of the village. He was regarded as the representative of the ryots. The Chaugula assisted the Patil in his work and remitted the collection of revenue to the taluq treasury. The Kulkarni kept the numerous records and accounts of the village. The most important aspects of village records were the general measurement and description of all the village

lands, the list of fields, with the name, size and quality of each. The Mahar was to watch over the boundaries, both of the village lands and of each individual's field. The Potedar, besides being the village silver-smith asseyed all money paid either to the government or to individuals.

The next division was the '<u>tarf</u>', composed of an indefinite number of villages. It was under no particular officers. During the pre-Shivaji period the administrative units were Parganas, Sarkars and Subhas. Shivaji divided his dominions into Mauja, Tarf and Subha. During the Peshwa period, however, we find all these terms Tarf, Pargana, Sarkar, and Subha in indiscriminate use. Over the small divisions were placed the Kamavisdars and the Mamlatdars held the charge of the bigger divisions. The Mamlatdars held their office directly under the central government. In short each revenue division was under an officer who in a large district was called Mamlatdar and in a small one Kamavisdar. Another important revenue officer under them was Shekdar.

At the beginning of the rains, Mamlatdar sent for the Patil : gave him general assurance, that he should take no more than was usual : the Patil's giving a written engagement specifying the quantity of cultivated land, the quantity of waste, and that

granted at a just rent to new settlers and promising to realise the revenue.

He then went to his village, encouraged the ryots to cultivate, procured them loans or forbearance from former creditors, promised to get them tagai and prevailed on them to undertake the ploughing of new lands. About the end of one year, when the principal harvest was nearly ready to be cut, the Mamlatdar moved out into his district and was attended by the Patils of villages with their Kulkarnis who laid before him the papers already enumerated.

When the time of paying arrived, a shibandi was sent by the Shekdar to assist the Patil. The Mahar summoned the ryots, who paid their rent to the Patil in the presence of the Potedar who assayed and stamped the money and of the Kulkarni who granted a receipt. When all was collected the Patil sent it by the Mahar, with a letter to the Deshmukh and another to the Kamavisdar, under charge of the Chaugula and received a receipt from the Mamlatdar. The payments were made by three instalments corresponding with the seasons of the Rabi, Kharif and Tusar. There was frequently another at the end of the year to recover all outstanding balances. The assessment under the Marathas was made on the basis of the survey conducted long ago by Malik Ambar in the north and Adilshahi

kings in the south. It was done according to the fertility of land, the condition of irrigation and the nature of crops.

Besides land revenue there were also other sources of State Revenue. They were customs, revenue from government lands, sheep pastures, mint, etc.

This was the revenue system which Elphinstone wanted to continue after 1818. He kept the same framework of revenue administration of the Marathas. Elphinstone himself summed up revenue arrangements as 'lighter, more equal and more certain assessment, less peculation, and consequently less profit to the agents of government.'[2]

After 1818, when the whole Maratha country came under the control of the British, the first thing they did was the rearrangement of administrative divisions. They formed 'compact districts'. 'The straggling revenue divisions of the Marrattas were formed into compact districts; each yielding from 50 to 70,000 rupees a year. ...'.[3] Secondly, they curtailed the unlimited powers of some government officers.[4] The importance of Patil in the village administration was reduced. The powers given to the Mamlatdars under the new system encroached on the powers enjoyed by the village headman under the old system. The Patils always misused their authority

for their personal benefits. The ryot's back was broken by heavy exactions, particularly when the revenue farming introduced in the last phase of the Maratha power. The complaints lodged against him were hardly attended by the higher authorities.[5] But after 1818, the Patil could not levy one ria in addition to what was stated in the ryot's Patta; in it, the proportion of the acknowledged assessment customary for Sadilwar[6] was set forth. He could neither levy exactions on the ryots, nor could defraud the government by granting enams like Dharmadayam, Varshasan. The position of the mamlatdar was also changed after 1818. In previous administration he was paid in proportion to the amount of the collections. But under the new system, the system of fixed pay and no perquisites was decidedly introduced in principle. The same was about the Deshmukh and Deshpande. The Deshmukh and Deshpandes after 1818, paid no hak rusums, that was one year's revenue occasionally levied, or Dahak Patti which was ten per cent on their revenue for one year and latterly very frequently exacted but they were on the other hand were permitted to levy any exactions from the ryots as they formerly were in habit of doing.[7]

We can sum up the leading principles of the British revenue system as 'to abolish farming, but

otherwise to maintain the native system; to levy the Revenue according to the actual cultivation; to make the assessments light; to impose no new taxes; and to do none away, unless obvious and unjust; and above all, to make no innovations.'[8]

James Grant, the first political agent at Satara, followed the same principles regarding the revenue arrangements which Elphinstone put before him. In his letter of 10th July, 1818, Elphinstone instructed Grant 'continue to collect the land revenue as has been the custom of the country...'. He further instructed 'greater care must be taken to avoid over assessment and much indulgence to the ryot will be necessary to overcome the effects of war and of a bad revenue system'.[9] He advised Grant, 'to use every means to encourage ryot to carry the cultivation to the utmost extent and where they actually require it you must assist them in purchasing cattle and seed'. About giving advances he stated 'great care must be taken in giving these advances, to ascertain that they are really wanted, to prevent any portion of the land lying waste and to time them so as to preclude the ryot being tempted to squander them before the season for cultivation arrives.' Regarding remissions he advised, 'Remissions must now be given with great

caution, never promised till the end of the season, and then only granted on actual loss'.

Grant strictly followed the instruction of Elphinstone while making the administrative divisions of the territory under his charge.[10]

The territory under his charge was divided into two 'Subhas' which were formed of eleven 'Petas', equivalent to our modern talukas. A Peta was made up of a number of villages.

The head of the Subha was Sarsubhedar. Certain number of 'Petas' were assigned to each Sarsubhedar for supervision. The 'Peta' was placed under an officer called Mamlatdar. He was to superintend the collection of revenue, and to manage the police. There was also an office of Shekdar who was to assist the Mamlatdar in settling and collecting the revenue.

Like all other villages else where in Maharashtra, Satara also had a viable village community, with its traditional functionaries, the Balutedars.

Patil was the head officer of the village. His main duty was to look after the cultivation generally. He was to assist in distributing the village assessment and forming ryotwar settlement to collect and forward all payments of revenue. He was the medium of all communications between the village and the government. He was the head of the village police and controlled

and arranged the village establishment. Patil also assembled Panchayats and settled village disputes by his influence or by arbitration.[11]

The Kulkarni was the village accountant acting immediately under the direction of the Patil. He kept all the public accounts of the village. His accounts consisted of (i) The Jamin Zada or register of lands giving the names, quality and contents of every field in the village. It also shows whether the village was alienated or not and its particular classification of land. (ii) The Lawni Patrak or abstract of the Koolaraug. It was a general statement showing the land and every item of revenue appertaining to each cultivator. (iii) Bij-pernichi patti - It was a monthly account kept by the Kulkarni and forwarded to the Mamlatdar showing the quantity of land sown in each village for the kharif and rabi crop and specifying the amount of land revenue on each. (iv) The Koolganani - was the account of each cultivators land and the revenue - sadilwar, sivaye jama, etc. It contained the same information of Lawni patrak but in greater detail and was a separate account with each individual.[12] He also kept other accounts like Mohatarfachi koolwar, Khatavani, etc.

The Chaugula was a Maratha and was an assistant to the Patil.

These village officers held from the government watans in lieu of remunerations for their services. This has been referred to as '<u>chakari</u> <u>watan</u>'. They received <u>mushahara</u>[13] or a ready money payment from the government which was accounted for in the village expenses. According to Grant the highest and the lowest mushahara in the Raja's country was 500 and 10 rupees respectively. The Patil received honorary presents like <u>Tashrif</u>,[14] and <u>Sar-o-pa</u>[15] which were Rs. 5 to 20 or a <u>Shela pagadi</u> when the <u>Jamabandi</u> was fixed. The Watan, Mushahara, Sar-o-pa and Tashrif were all the rights and perquisites which these officers received from the government. The perquisites received from the ryot is called <u>Ghugri</u>,[16] at the average rate of about 5 seers per bigha, and levied on every description of cultivated land. Ghugri was divided into three parts, two of which go to the Patil and one to the Kulkarni of which the latter gave one fourth of his share to the Chaugula.

These officers also enjoyed other perquisites. The main of them were (i) <u>Charma joda</u>[17] (ii) <u>Dashara-bakra</u>[18] (iii) <u>Mandava-khandani</u>[19] (iv) <u>Pan supari</u>[20] (v) <u>Patti pasodi</u>[21] (vi) <u>Natwal</u>.[22] There were probably other small perquisites not enumerated and those that were mentioned were not found in every village. They

all appeared to be founded on custom and were voluntary contributions which formed part of the Manpan.[23]

The infrastructure of the village communities remained unchanged during the period under review. The Baluta and Aluta system continued performing the traditional functions towards the village communities.

In short, after 1818, the duties of the village officers and establishment remained the same with less power in some cases of abusing their authority. The Kulkarni's duty became more onerous, more particular accounts were required from him. He was to make out all the Kabul-Katabas.[24] The Patils were relieved from much trouble by the revenue in all, its different items, being collected by one hand. The Patil after 1818 had no opportunity of speculation as the village were inspected in detail and that when they were enabled to help themselves or assist their village, it was only by overrating the village expenses. The greatest relief to the village officers and establishment as well as the village generally was the abolition of all kinds of Begar[25] for the government or individuals.

The land was held under different tenures as Watan, Miras, Upari, Sherikari, Owandkari, Batai and Balute.

Watan was a service tenure, while miras was the land held by a peasant-proprietor in perpetuity so long as he paid the land tax. The mirasdar had many advantages. He had a voice in all affairs concerning the village. He was often exempted from Ghugri and Ghar-jama.[26] He possessed a right of grazing on the Gov-ran or common, a share of the Gov than or village site on which he might build and sell his house. He could contract a marriage with respectable families. He was also a source of social distinction. The mirasdar in fact formed an aristocratic body, having, what is called in the reports, 'the freedom of the village'. They had the first place at all feasts and festivals, the Miras rights made the tenure so desirable. In the event of a resident Mirasdar failing to pay his assessment, the other Mirasdars were obliged to pay up his rent but when he went abroad (Paraganda) as was generally the case, when he was insolvent; the other Mirasdars paid nothing unless they chose to take the field and paid the full assessment. But this was seldom done except amongst relations and when not taken by the government might let out the field in loan, but as the government Karkun or Shekdar, had not such influence as that Patil, the latter was the person who made choice of the occupant and the field was apportioned by him

in khunda makta at a rate inferior to the regular assessment. When the Mirasdar returned to claim his field it was restored to him at expiration of the lease.

Grant founded the miras tenure throughout the country except in the Bijapur Peta. He himself concluded about this as, 'it did exist but that during the decay of the Beejapoor Government and the oppression which succeeded under the Moghul oamrahs that the tenure as a matter of course was destroyed.'[27] The proportion of Mirasdars to Uparis in the Raja's territory was two-third Mirasdars to one-third Uparis or seventy Mirasdars in the hundred.[28] The ryots according to Grant were very tenancious of their Miras right in lands.

Besides the Watandars and Mirasdars there was another class of cultivators called the Uparis or the tenants at will. Upari was a stranger, cultivating land of the government or of a proprietor on temporary basis as a labourer without any occupancy rights. He held his land upon a contract or lease from the village authorities which was called Kaul. It was generally renewed from year to year and seldom exceeded three years. He was obliged to confirm to the customs of the village and commonly paid his government dues in money, he was said to hold his land in Khunda Makta or Ookta i.e. on fixed payment at favourable rate. It

is a sort of contract. The system of leasing land led to slow and wasteful methods of cultivation for the same reason their rates of assessment were considerably lower than those of the Miras lands. They had no interest in lands beyond that of getting the largest profit in the smallest possible time.

Sheriland was the private property of the chief of the state and was cultivated by the tenants. A Sherikari might be a person holding a few mango trees for the season.[29]

Owandkari, another tenure in Satara, was a person cultivating land in a village, but residing in, and belonging to, another village.

A person renting lands under agreement of paying half the produce in kind was said to hold it in Batai. The kunbis generally preferred that tenure. The mode of the division was, first to set aside the dues of the Patil and Kulkarni and Balute - then the quantity required for next years seed, after which, the division is made and the rest of the <u>hak</u> dues falled on the government share, but after the first deductions the subsequent divisions, the wear and tear of the implements, the purchase of cattle and finding their subsistence, there remained little more than a fourth of the gross produce.[30]

Main revenue officers of the Raja's country,

who were responsible for the collection of revenue were Patil, Shekdar, and Mamlatdar. Sarsubhedar was to supervise the work of Mamlatdar. The Raja's government issued orders respecting the revenue as additional to those published on the 10th November 1819.[31] It was stated that the orders now enforced which were issued by the British government for the guidance of Shekdars and Mamlatdars were to be continued.[32]

A Shekdar when appointed was furnished with a correct list of villages, their revenues, present state, agreements with the farmers, etc., and in addition, he was instructed by the Mamlatdar as to the character of the Patil and what village officer were most trustworthy. At the commencement of the season of cultivation, the Shekdar visited the village, gave encouragement to the ryot and sent to the Mamlatdar the monthly account of the progress of cultivation and crops. The Mamlatdar, from all such information prepared an abstract which he sent to the Huzur or the main administrative office at Satara.

The Shekdar for his revenue duties was given the aid of two shibandis, who went with him to the village, to obtain all necessary information. To learn of the state of cultivation the Shekdar moved about constantly. It was expected of him that he would

be incessant and vigilant in his enquiries and exertion. He was particularly watchful and prevented the Patil from levying any unauthorised exactions on any pretence, and prevented them giving good lands at lower rates or appropriating lands in any way to their own use or that of their friends or relatives. For these malpractices, the villagers often tried to bribe. The Shekdars particularly when money was allotted for Tagai. He was careful to see that the whole amount was paid to the ryot and was to keep a watch on utilization of the loan sanctioned for a specific purpose like the purchase of stock, implements, seeds, etc.

The Mamlatdars were given extensive powers, by an order from Elphinstone.[33]

The Mamlatdar was instructed that on no account he was to make innovations or changes from what he founded the mamul or custom of each village, without previous orders from the government. The actual condition of each village was best obtained by observation on the spot, Mamlatdars therefore were strongly urged and was insisted on their travelling which enabled them to encourage cultivation, check abuses, enquire into the conduct of those under him, etc.

The Mamlatdar was to send all the accounts of the state cultivation in the villages under his charge. He visited every village four times in every season

and kept himself thoroughly informed so that he could help the government in concluding the general assessment. First-at the season for commencing the ploughing and preparing the lands for the crops. He used to assemble all the inhabitants, examine the accounts and gave every encouragement to carry on the cultivation to the utmost extent of their means. He used to examine the occupancy rights of the Mirasdars, and prevent all unauthorised occupations. In case the land of a Mirasdar remained fallow in a particular year for want of means for cultivation, the Mamlatdar in that case used to make proper enquiries and to make it over to another ryot who would undertake to do so for the time being. The original Mirasdar, however, did not lose his occupancy rights by this measure. The second visit paid by the Mamlatdar was when the cultivator starts the work of cleaning and weeding the fields. He makes of note of the condition of crops - whether the seeds have taken roots or failed. In his third visit he used to make an assessment of crops and supervise the work of the Shekdars. The last visit was generally during the harvest season.

The Sarsubhedar supervised the works of the Mamlatdar and saw that his orders were punctually attended to.

The authorised revenue (mahasul) in the Raja's

territory was collected under two general heads; ain jama (the land revenue) and 'sivaye jama'[34] (the additional revenue).

The land revenue under the Raja's government was realised from five different heads : (i) patasthal, (ii) motasthal, (iii) jirayat, (iv) sheri (v) dhara chaghulla.

The extra revenue came from a variety of sources viz., mohaturfa (house tax) and taxes on trade, shops and in some cases castes, or in other words, from all people other than cultivators residing in towns or within their range. Most of those items of extra revenue were worked out on as fair and equitable basis as possible.

Answering the questions put to him by William Chaplin, James Grant gave a detail account of the classification of land in Satara.[35]

The classification of land was based upon two principles, (i) irrigation facilities, (ii) fertility of land. According to the first, the lands were classed under three heads. (1) Jirayat, (2) Bagayat and (3) Khachur or Rice land.

1) Jirayat - or dry land was irrigated only by rain. The villagers called it koradwahu. It was sub-divided into three types (i) kalee zamin

(ii) mowat zamin (iii) mal zamin.

i) Kalee zamin - It was a deep black soil. It was subdivided into (a) dhondal or stoney (b) doonbee or dhas kalee, cracked black soil and (c) mali, land liable to be flooded in the rains.

ii) Mowat zamin - It was subdivided into murrob or land on the banks of rivers and nullas, cheekur or clay soil and oppel or swampy soil.

iii) Mal zamin - It was subdivided into three types (a) kurt or choonkhur land full of small roundiesh limestones, (b) bhurad or that of a light however reddish colour, and (c) walaasia or sandy pulverized soil.

2) Bagayat - was mala or irrigated land. It was divided into Patasthal - land irrigated by stream, canal and Motasthal - land watered by wells. Each were classed into ek pikkee and do pikke or producing one or two crops. The distinction in both cases of course depended on the supply of water, and on the nature of the soils.

3) Khachur or Rice lands - The small rainfall from the mountains, supply the rice fields for forty or fifty days after the southeast Monsoon and when those rivulets be likely to continue flowing after the rice was cutdown, a crop of dry grain was sown immediately.

According to Grant, in the Bijapur peta the names of those were different. The three grand classifications were called (1) Hola (2) Twaffey and (3) Gaddey or Holey. The hola or jirayat was divided into Regus, Kurla Hola and Mal Murdee. The only difference between those and what had already been described was that the Mal murdee or Mal zamin of Bijapur was generally not of a brown but of a blackish colour.

The Guddey or Khachur lands in Mumdapur were those for which water was supplied from tank.

According to the second the three descriptions of lands were classed into (i) awal, (ii) dum and (iii) sim or best, middle and barren.

Assuming 16 as the total, Grant specified the proportion which each sort of land beared to the whole.[36]

1)	Jirayat or dry cultivation	
	i) Kalee zamin	5
	ii) Mowat zamin	4
	iii) Mal zamin	4
		13
2)	Bagayat or garden land	
	i) Patasthal	1½
	ii) Motasthal	1
		2½

3) Khachur or rice land ½

Grand total 16

The land under the management of the government was consisted of (i) Sheri (ii) Umbrai, (iii) Bag, (iv) Kuran (pastures) etc.

i) Sheri - All the sheri lands were under the management of Patils of villages, whose conduct was superintended by the Shekdar. The rent of the sheri lands included in the village assessment. When the sheri lands leased to be retained by the government for its own use, they were rented out directly by the mamlatdars to the cultivators and generally at an easier rate than the lands managed by the village authorities. Grant continued the same rates prevailing under the previous government and the old cultivators were also retained on the former terms except when fraudulent kauls were discovered by the collusion of former Mamlatdars.[37]

Under the previous government, the Patil and Kulkarni, whose conduct was superintended by Kamavisdar or Shekdar were to direct the cultivation of sheri lands. The same practice obtained during the period of Pratapsinha but the rules were more strict and the superintendence more efficient. Under the new system the authority for everything came directly from

the government. The village officers under Pratapsinha possessed not the same authority as formerly regarding grants. The Shekdar reported to the Mamlatdar and obtained his provisional sanction. According to Grant, this did not interrupt cultivation.[38]

Crops

The territory of the Satara state may be roughly divided into two distinct and very dissimilar parts, by a chain of hills branching off from Mahadev range near Phaltan and running from north to south for fifty or sixty miles nearly to the banks of Krishna near Walwe. They were western division and eastern division. The western division was well populated with industrious agriculturist people, who secured better results from the fertile lands and adequate amount of rainfall. While eastern division was more flat, barren and thinly populated.

In the western division, the irrigated lands produced four crops and the unirrigated lands two crops in a season. In the eastern division, the irrigated lands rarely produced more than two and the unirrigated lands more than a single crop in a season.[39]

In the valleys of those parts of the territory in land bordering on the mountains called the Konkan,

rice and wheat were produced whilst the hill side field an inferior grain called Nachnee. In some spots of that tract, especially in the inferior district of Jawli, where the soil was red and rich, Nupanee was grown.

The western 'petas' produced the finest jwar and those of the eastern the best bajri, which were the grains most consumed by the people.

Tobacco was also grown in the Satara territory especially in Walwe peta.

A small quantity of opium was produced in Satara and Koregaon petas.

Cotton was also grown in the Raja's country. The best cotton petas were Karad and Walwe.

Tag or flax was produced to a limited extent in the Raja's territory.

The produce of various fruit trees growing on government lands was annually farmed on account of general revenues.

Mangoes were farmed separately at each village. The produce of tamarind trees grown principally in the Bijapur peta, was farmed in the same manner. Date trees found mostly in the neighbourhood of Bijapur, were farmed for the manufactures of 'arrack', a kind of poorman's intoxicating drink. A sweet purple plum (owla) found on the Wai and Satara hills.

In the Koyna valley, in the Targaon and Jawli, there was a promising forest which was capable of producing teak, babhul, sandal and other trees.

An inferior, dark coloured and bitter salt was produced in most parts of the Bijapur peta through which two salt streams flow and at a few places in the Pandharpur and Khatav petas. It was manufactured for a limited consumption only. For other parts seaborne salt was used throughout the country.

There were also other cereals like Satoo, Waria, Rajgira, Mukka, Ralee, Pulses like Udid, Tur, Moog, Hulge, Masura, Chawlai, Powtey, Mutkia gram were produced in the Satara territory. We also find oil plants like Kurdai, Teel, Groundnut, Jawas in the state.

The system of land settlement was ryotwar under Raja Pratapsinha and his successor, Raja Shahaji. The settlement of revenue by government was guided by accounts obtained by a watchful superintendence by local officers and the final general assessment was done by Patils, Shekdars and Zamindars by their local knowledge, and the state of the village and proportion of the assessment to the actual state of things so that all villages bore an equal and just share of government dues. When this was duly fixed government granted each Patil a Patta[40] and received a Kabuliyat[41]

in return and that no individual was to contribute more than he was bound to do by the unvariable custom which prevailed in the country in the best times of its government. There was a final division of the village assessment on each ryot apportion to his rightful share of the general assessment on his village. This Koolwar or ryotwar settlement was made by each Mamlatdar in the most careful manner and pattas and Muchalkas[42] were exchanged between the Patil and the ryot in the same mode as between the Government and the Patil but on the patta of each ryot a seal of the government was affixed. Every patta was therefore carefully transmitted by Mamlatdar to the Huzur when it was afterwards returned to the Mamlatdar for transmission to the ryot to whom it belonged.[43] In the patta of each village due deduction was made for all ordinary allowances of hak sadilwar and domala, but they were carefully and distinctly specified. Whatever proportion each ryot paid of sadilwar, domala or hakdar dues the same was enumerated in his patta.[44]

From September to December, Jama-bandi[45] was made. It was made under the supervision of Raja Pratapsinha. After Dasara, Pratapsinha started his visits to each peta. It was James Grant who inculcated in the mind of the Raja the habit of periodical

rounds of the territory and enquiry of the welfare of his subjects.[46]

During his visit to each peta, he was accompanied by six jagirdars under his management and number of shibandis and troops. During this periodical rounds, the Raja used to decide a number of issues like the fixation of revenue, granting remissions if necessary, issuing new pattas in place of kabul katbas, bringing wasteland under plough,[47] etc. A Hukum Nama, or state order was usually issued based on the decision taken during the course of the visit. The Raja during this visit also interviewed the Mangs, the Mahars, the Shekdars, the Shirastedars and inspected their work in the village. Those who performed their duties sincerely and to the satisfaction of the Raja, were rewarded or promoted according to the merit of the case. The defaulters were either punished on degraded.[48]

The assessment was based up on three principles: irrigation facilities, fertility of soil, the state of actual cultivation.

Highest rent of a bigha of black lands was	Rs. 16
Lowest rent of a bigha of black land was	Re. 1
Highest rent of a bigha of mixed land was	Rs. 8
Lowest rent of a bigha of mixed land was	Rs. 3/4

Highest rent of a bigha of *mal zamin* was	Rs. 2
Lowest rent of a bigha of mal zamin was	Rs. 1/4[49]

Highest rent on *irrigated garden land* was Rs. 25 while the lowest was Re. 1.[50]

Bigha	Garden land	Produce	Rent Rs.
1+1	Garden land	Betel leaf	25
1	"	Sugarcane	10
1	"	Plantains	10
1	"	Fruits	15
1	"	Vegetables	10

[51]

Black soil of *dry cultivation* classed into *awal* (best), *dum* (middle), and *sim* (barren) was assessed as follows:

Black soil	i) Best	Rs. 10½	per bigha
	ii) Middle	Rs. 7	"
	iii) Barren	Rs. 4	" [52]

The share of the government was usually 1/3 of the gross produce. If we assumed the gross produce of a ryot to be Rs. 100, the government's share was Rs. 36 and the ryot's share was Rs. 64.

Rs. 32 of the ryot's share went to village and district officers and expenses of cultivation.

Rs. 28 were spent on maintenance of family of eight persons.

Rs. 4 were saved after paying his rent maintaining his family and keeping up his agricultural stock.[53]

The share of the government and of the ryot varied in land newly reclaimed, where the istawa or progressive rent system was applied, for a period of five to seven years. The rent for the first year being very insignificant went on increasing progressively till the normal rate was achieved in the last year of the lease.

Uparis did not in general pay so high a rent for lands of the same qualities as Mirasdars or Watandars. Consequently their shares of the produce were greater, that was however counter balanced by many advantages appertaining to Mirasdar which Uparis did not enjoy.

To lay down rational and viable revenue policy, it was necessary to collect as much information as was possible. Elphinstone had instructed his collectors to collect information for at least 10 years past. Grant in his letter, dated 30th January 1819, had

mentioned a number of difficulties in getting the correct accounts of previous 10 years.[54] He stated that many of the Kulkarnis were certainly, extremely ignorant but many of them wilfully withheld their real accounts and those who possessed were false and incorrect. He further stated some of the Kulkarnis brought forward the real accounts of their villages in bundles of old papers which they could neither examine nor understand. There was absence of all correct accounts, due to the pernicious heritage of the farming system, which precluded all attempts at gaining accurate knowledge. In the letter of 17th August 1819, he wrote Elphinstone that he was obliged to give up all hopes of being able to obtain any correct average in that way, as he found.

Territory under the management of James Grant was not surveyed properly, and scientifically. Survey was not yet started, so for fixing the rate of assessment, Grant followed average assessment method.[55] For obtaining a correct average assessment, without actual measurement, was to settle the jamabandi for a series of years in the mode termed by the Marathas, kucha mamlat referring to accounts of 30 and 40 years back when procurable, taking then the jama as the kamal, allowing due deduction for the uncultivated land, and making the balance, the amount payable by

each village, admitting any other reasonable deduction for the first year or two on any tolerable grounds, so that the assessment might be easy and enable.

The enhanced revenue rate introduced by Bajirao II were inflated by revenue farmers to the extent of one and half of the original and collected it from the ryots. Grant Duff took average of all the earlier revenue collection and introduced it in Satara.[56]

Mr. Parr in his report stated that the old assessment generally absorbed half of the produce.[57] According to Ogilvy the commissioner, a large share of the gross produce was taken.[58] Thus, it will not be incorrect if we said that heavy assessment was continued by Grant.[59]

The survey was begun in 1821, under Captain Henry Adams. Adams was a friend of Grant. Grant made many efforts for appointing him as surveyor. Raja Pratapsinha was desirous of carrying on survey and was willing to pay for it.[60] Estimate of the revenue settlement made by H. Adams was laid before the Raja by Grant. The Raja approved it and 'under the sanction of authority, the survey was authorised, and estimate was judged reasonable'.[61] Grant stated Adams, the object of the survey as 'to give the Raja's government the means of protecting its subjects and realising its just dues that you are to the Raja and

his ministers in possession of the required information and afford every explanation in your power, but permit them to apply it as they think proper, this is not meant to preclude your affording the Raja your advice on revenue points connected with the survey.'[62]

The plan of measuring as introduced by Cap. Adams was that followed in the revenue survey department in Guzrat and was done by means of crosses for hitting off the perpendiculars in the use of which the karkuns were instructed and by that method every field however regular required three measurements of the chain viz. that of the diagonal and two perpendiculars. If the field was irregular it was divided into as many separate figures as were required, the sum of their areas forming the total contents of the field.[63]

The length of the kathi which Adams formed for the survey was 9 feet 11 $\frac{175}{1000}$ inches giving a bigha 4383 square yards or hardly 15 square poles less than the English acre.[64] The land was measured by bigha, chavar and takka.[65]

The allowance of rupees 1000 was granted to Henry Adams.[66] He was assisted by munim or head karkun who was to superintend 10 sets of measurers. The pay he received per month was Rs. 50 with a horse allowance of Rs. 20 - Total Rs. 70.[67] A set of measurers was consisted of 2 karkuns and 2 Marathi

knowing people. The head karkun received Rs. 35 and the other Rs. 30 per month and 2 Marathi knowing measurers Rs. 6 each, who were furnished with belts and breast plates, on breast plat, the word '<u>Mojnar</u>' (measurer) was engraved.

The villages under survey were to furnish two resident cultivators to assist in dragging the chains. They were to be from amongst those holding lands in watan for the performance of public service. When such were not to be had in village then the resident cultivators were to perform that service. Thus there were 4 people to drag the 2 chains of every set of surveyors viz. two Marathi knowing persons in the constant pay of the government and two inhabitants of the village under survey.[68]

Every month a karkun was to proceed from the Huzur to muster the survey establishment and the muster roll forwarded to the Huzur daftar, the abstract was made out which was paid under the signature of Cap. Adams.[69] The sarkarkun was supplied with stationery for the sets of surveyors under him on application to daftar. He kept an account of the expenditure and forwarded it monthly to the daftar. The Patils, Kulkarnis, Chaugulas and Balutedars of the village under survey were present to aid and assist by pointing out the village boundaries and the

boundaries and nature of all fields. The lands were measured according to the manner pointed out by them. The Kulkarni of that village was to note down all measurements and he kept a complete account of the survey of his village. All mahars constantly attended to pitch the flags on the boundaries of the fields and generally rendered every assistance.[70]

Between 1821 and 1829 Captain Adams surveyed all lands of the Satara state including Bijapur peta. He also classified lands and fixed rates of assessment. It is difficult to say about the classification of lands and assessment because of the non-availability of Adam's report.[71] But on the basis of the Rojnishi of Pratapsinha and the reports of commissioners at Satara, one may opine that Adams surveyed all the lands of the Satara state and classified them. He enhanced the rate of assessment and Pratapsinha applied those enhanced rates in his territory. But when he found that large remissions were to be granted and large amount remained uncollected, he in the 30s abolished the classification of lands and assessment done by Adams.[72] In his Rojnishi at one instance the Raja said that he spent four lakhs of rupees for the work of survey only because of his cordial relations with his friend Grant. He further said that the survey was not advantageous therefore he abolished

the classification of lands and assessment done by Adams.[73]

According to Ogilvy, the commissioner (1851), between 1821 and 1829 Captain Challen and Adams surveyed the entire territory of the Satara state with the exception of the lands of several Inamdars and of a few villages in Bijapur peta, since received in exchange. He further said, "it appears that, in communication with heads of villages and other intelligent natives, they revised the assessment by which they made, I understand a trifling increase on the whole revenues. The revised rates were introduced and continued in operation for a few years, till it was found that, owing to the resistance offered by those whose rents had been raised, added to the loss sustained from those whose rents had been reduced, the revenues declined. On that, Raja Pratapsinha directed that the old rates should be again levied instead of the new. The accounts however were confused by retaining in them the new bighas and the old rates of assessment."[74]

According to Sandford,[75] and W. C. Anderson, survey commissioner, Captain Adams measured the country but no permanent revision of assessment was introduced; the consequence was that great confusion was occasioned by the old bighas as they were

severally styled.[76] In all but the Bijapur sub-division, the assessment was on the old bigha while the cultivated area was shown in measurement bighas.

During Grant's time Jama-bandi was amounted about Rs. 1644085 and the balance remained uncollected was about Rs. 24500. But after the departure of Grant to England, due to the fail of rains in the year 1824, the jama of the Raja's government decreased. The balance remained uncollected now raised to Rs.40000.[77] Adams, after his survey, raised the assessment but due to the fail of rains, non-availability of jobs, and cheapness the ryot could not pay the amount. So Pratapsinha lessened the revenue amount by Rs.84700.[78] The remissions which were granted by Pratapsinha till 1833 was amounted about Rs. 2430878. Due to the famine of 1824 and other factors, when the jama decreased, Pratapsinha curtailed the administrative expenditure by some degree. He also curtailed his personal expenditure.[79]

Pratapsinha, who had a sense of welfareness of the ryot, in the year 1829 issued a list of thirty-four points for granting remissions to the ryot.[80] Only important points are mentioned here.

The first article said that if the ryot produce Khora rupee, then Batai was not to be taken from them. If the ryot produce Narm Chhapy then the batai was allowed.

It was the custom of the land to provide shidha to shibandhies who comes to peta for collecting the revenue. Pratapsinha introduced a new change by article No. 2 which runs, "the ryot should not give shidha to shibandis now onwards".

Article No. seven said, 'if the ryot did not give revenue to the government or purposely left the land barren then he would not receive the concessions declared by those thirty four points.

In the light of new administrative changes the burden of administration of Deshmukh and Deshpande was reduced. Considering this new change in the position of Deshmukh and Deshpande, Pratapsinha declared in the article 9th that the huks (rights) enjoyed by Deshmukh and Deshpande would be continued if they brought barren land and lagan tota under cultivation.

Under Raja Pratapsinha and Raja Shahaji, every village had its old Kamal or standard assessment fixed; and the total assessment of the occupied area of all the villages made up the total kamal or standard assessment or any sub-division. Each field was supposed to be known, and had its name and area recorded in the accounts in Kadim or ancient bighas which was a measure of valuation and not of area and in the bigha of Adam's survey which was equal to thirty six gunthas or 9/10 ths of the English acre.

The kamal or standard assessment was also entered against each field. Where land was originally so highly assessed as in the most parts of the Satara district the custom of letting fields at reduced rates, rather than that they should entirely lie waste, crept in as a natural consequence.[81] According to W. C. Parr, the system of letting land at reduced rates, i.e. below the kamal assessment, was first introduced in 1819, under Raja Pratapsinha and that during his and Raja Shahaji's time the system was very extensively carried out.[82]

Accordingly, we find that the Mamlatdar had authority, when they found no one would cultivate a field at the original assessment (kamals) to let it either at a fixed reduction, or at a graduated increasing scale, accounting for their proceedings at the time of making the annual settlement. Those two modes of letting land were styled _Lagan_ or _Lavni Tota_ and _Estawa Tota_.[83]

It was always necessary to grant large yearly remissions. When the crops began to ripe, the Patils of villages and Shekdars of the _thanas_ examined them and reported their state to the Mamlatdar. Where any village was reported to have suffered much loss, the Mamlatdar or one of his head karkuns went and examined the state of the crops. From these reports and

personal observations, the Mamlatdar made out a rough estimate of what amount of remission was required to be given. At the time of making the Jama-bandi the Mamlatdar submitted rough estimate of remissions to be granted to the Raja. The remission to be given was then decided on in the same way, as if the sale of an estate was the subject of discussion. After much discussion, the lowest possible sum was allowed. Armed with authority to remit the sum, the Mamlatdar and his subordinates would go through the several villages, fixing each ryots remission and eventually a list was sent to the Huzur, with every ryot's name and the remission alleged to have been given to him. It was not till the lapse of one or more seasons that those remissions were distributed and then they rarely reached the parties requiring relief. They were made to cover deficiencies arising from inaccurate entries in the accounts, to meet excess in expenditure of village, or to accommodate persons who were in favour of the authorities.[84]

A separate establishment was maintained at the capital for the collection of outstanding balances; and as the local officers were not held answerable for their realisation, they took no pains to prevent their accumulation and made no exertions for their recovery.[85] Under both Rajas land holders were

encouraged to increase the area under garden land by making advances for improvement of land or repairing wells.[86]

Under Raja Shahaji annual advances were necessary to keep up cultivation, and yearly remissions to save the cultivators from ruin. Rents were maintained at so high a standard that large balances accumulated, which enabled the government officers to draw the utmost from the ryots, and even to absorb, by harsh and questionable means any profits they might earn in other pursuits than agriculture.

The land revenue (Ain-Jama) was collected in four Haptas or instalments. They were Tusar, Kharif, Rabi, and Akhirsal or in the respective months of October, January, March and May. The regular instalments were completed by the end of June.[87] The percentage on all the four might be fairly estimated at 20-25-30 and 35 per cent on the four instalment.[88]

The villagers stood guarantee for the payment of the revenue and should one of them fail to pay, his dues were borne by the proportional distribution on the village; in the same way, when the village could not pay, the whole district or Mahal became responsible.[89]

The Patil was obliged to give a receipt specifying the coins in which he received the money

from the ryot, and the Mamlatdar was obliged to give alike receipt to the Patil, the government treasury gave a similar receipt to the Mamlatdar. The Mamlatdar was always careful to transmit the exact sum of rupees to the Huzur, when copper was collected. It was exchanged for silver at the price current in the Kasba, previous to its transmissions to Satara.[90] The Sonar of the village carried the money to the Mamlatdar where the peta shroff examined it. Then the cash was deposited in bags sealed by the Mamlatdar, Saraf and Sarsubhedar. The amount, then was despatched to the treasury at Satara. Once a month, but as the peta Saraf could not attend to their duty in the Mahals and accompanied the cash to Satara, there was one general agent on the part of all the shroffs in whose presence the bags were opened, and who on the parts of his constituents was responsible for bad rupees.[91] The coins were always specified in the Irsal patti.[92]

The coins in circulation were Ankoshi, Miraj, Hukeri, and Malharshahi rupees.[93] The Malharshahi was collected in Bijapur peta and formed 4 per cent of the whole revenue. The Miraj, Hukeri were collected in some parts of Walwe peta and formed 1/2 per cent of the whole revenue.[94] The principal Sawkars, Shroffs and Shopkeepers in Satara settled the fair exchange on the various kinds of rupees on the 17th

April 1820, as follows.

Rupees known by the name Khora and Nirmal chhapy (well marked) were pass current without any discount. Rupees of the above kind, slightly marked, cracked or intended were known by the names kant phutka and bal phutka were to have no difference of exchanged levied upon them and were likewise to pass current without any discount.[95]

The butta[96] was admitted upon the Chhapy,[97] Mudhyam chhapy,[98] Nurm chhapy[99] and Phutka.[100] Mudhyam chhapy rupees were passed at a discount of one paisa per rupee. Nurm chhapy at two paisa discount per rupee. Phutka or coins of the above description much defaced or deteriorated were not received in the payment of revenue. The usual rate at which those passed on the bazar was 3¼ per cent.

In cases where the revenue was paid in kind the Mamlatdar was to ascertain the estimated value of the produce of the field on the spot, and to fix the government share at a four average quantity; after which nothing additional was taken for any surplus produced above the proportion by which the estimate was made, that advantage fall entirely to the share of the ryot.[101]

Sivaye Jama (additional revenue) was collected from the following heads:

1) Muhtarafa[102] - There were two classes of muhtarafa the one of towns, the other of villages.

a) Towns or peths - The muhtarafa consisted of banyas to whom were attached the Shete Mahajan.[103]

When trades were numerous in any place, they have a headman or Mehatar who collected the assessment over the whole. There was sometimes a Chaudhari appointed by the government. The Mehatar managed the affairs of the people of the trade to which he belonged in every way not only in the payment of their taxes but also frequently in observing the due fulfilment of their morals and religious duties. The Mehatar or head of the trade was generally himself exempted from the payment of the muhtarafa.

The muhtarafa in Satara was levied entirely by custom. It was not paid with reference to the income, but according to what was fixed at the time of first becoming a member of the trade.

In towns the Shete, Mahajans were directed by the Mamlatdar to assemble the mehatars and the whole of the trades and artizans. The assessment was fixed with reference to former years. When a family became extinct or where a tradesman left the place and there was no one to fill his place, the amount paid by such persons was remitted, on the other hand when any new settlers came, there was a cess put upon

them either the first year or more commonly according to the principle of Estawa or the full amount collected after four or five years. The Patils regulated the payment in the same manner where there were no Shete, Mahajans.[104]

The muhtarafa tax was extremely light under Satara and according to James Grant, it was always been considered impolite to increase it.[105]

The muhtarafa was collected in two instalments. One at the Dasara in October and the other about Magh mas or February.

At Pandharpur there was one mehatar of the four Khooms of Kassar, Tamboli, Teli and Bagwan who regulated the assessment for the whole community.

The highest tax paid by a cloth seller within the Raja's territory was Rs. 10 and the lowest one rupee.[106]

The highest tax paid by a grain seller was Rs.4 and the lowest one rupee.[107]

In case of other dealers engaged in selling different articles of trade the rate varied from Re.1 to Rs. 5.[108]

The highest tax paid by silk and cloth weavers was Rs. 3 and the lowest one rupee.[109]

Jingars,[110] tailors or persons who let out

cattle to hire and other professional classes paid tax to the government from 2 to 1 rupee.[111]

The defect which appeared to Grant in this system was that some persons who were poor now paid more than others who formerly poor were now comparatively healthy. According to Grant the plan of fixing the tax according to the income be an advisable innovation. He was very much doubtful about that, that in a country of such insignificant commercial resource. The mode of defining the amount appeared to Grant very eligible.[112]

The rent on cotton growing land was from Rs.6 to Rs. 12 per bigha.[113]

The revenue derived from the Abkaree was Rs. 8213 in the year 1821.[114] The articles from which that revenue was derived were spirits distilled from babhul or jaggeny date trees (in Bijapur) opium, ganjya, bhang, pendee or spirits distilled from grain and khuskhus.[115]

Another head of the Sivayejama was naktabab.[116] Naktabab included jama wancharai[117] mainly.

Customs - The duties on trade in the Raja's territories were divided into imports, exports and transit.

Grant in his letter to Elphinstone[118] took notice of the main heads of merchandise Kirana,

<u>bhusa</u> and cloth.

Kirana included all sorts of grocery, metal wares, all articles of Europe manufacture. It was not always charged equally. It was sometimes sub-divided into two or more sorts on which defined customs were levied.

Bhusa included all sorts of grain and cloth i.e. all kinds of cotton manufactured in India.

The internal traffic of a <u>kusba</u> was principally carried on in coarse cloth, grain, kambals (blankets) and some kirana of home produce. The export and import, at the average rate payable in the kusba on cloth was about 1/2 per cent on wholesale, but in the beginning of 1821 a subsequent duty of 2 per cent levied on retail buyers. Blankets paid rather more than cloth or about 9 per cent. Oil was charged 2 per cent and ghee at 1¼ as the average rate of <u>Thulmod</u> and <u>Thul bharit</u> i.e. export and import. The principal commodity was however grain. The duties on it was estimated by Grant at 2½ per cent on the inhabitants of the kusba, at 2¼ per cent on the inhabitants of the village and 3½ per cent on <u>Bichayetee</u> or all merchants from other districts.

In some places importers who were exporting in exchange used to get an exemption of one half of the export duties.

According to Grant, turnover of exports and imports of the Raja's territories was not very considerable. The exports consisted of small quantity of wheat, jwar, bajri, tobacco, red pepper and onions. Those were principally exported from the villages adjoining the banks of Krishna into the Konkan.

The duties on the exports were ascertained by a previous calculation of the Thul mod and Thal bharit which was rated at 3 per cent. So that including the transit duty and the Thulmod in the kusbas into which the export trade was carried, the average reckoned at 5 per cent though that would obviously differe according to circumstances, distance and the rules of the particular kusba under which the article was originally bought and sold as well as that into which it ultimately carried.

Cotton cloth imported into Pandharpur was hence exported to Poona and in its progress to the dealer's shop in that city paid a duty of nearly 2¼ per cent.

The principal mart within the Raja's territory was Pandharpur. The trade in cloth was carried on principally by Gosains. They imported Bengal silk, muslin, jewellery, shawls, shelas, pagdies, dupattas etc. from Burhanpur, Nagpur and the neighbouring towns of Mungi Paithan.

The import trade was carried on with the Karnatak, Bombay, Poona and southern Konkan and Solapur.

The merchants either managed the import themselves or employ a set of people termed <u>Hundekaris</u>. The poorer sort who had possessed a small capital and who could subsist by quick returns, commonly employed their own agents, servants and cattle.

The imports from the Karnatak consisted of varieties of cloths made in kurpa, pamur, etc.

On the cloth manufactured within the company's provinces 5 per cent duty was levied on the first purchase and its transit from the places above mentioned it passed through the part of the Nizam's territory, through Bidnaik's country entered the company's territory near Halmulla in the Bijapur peta, passed Chintamanrao's district of Munzulivehra and was brought into the Raja's country at Kasegaon. By that route about twenty five different customs were levied which estimating each bullock load of that species of cloth at Rs. 350 and taking the import duty at Pandharpur into calculation, the whole amounts of about 9¼ per cent before it was exposed for sale in the market of that place.

The imports from Bombay and Poona were principally of Europe and China articles. Trade of

those articles was confined to a few Bohras. The articles imported were broad cloth, glassware, a small quantity of cutlery.The duties were levied indiscriminately on the bullock load, which estimated at the average rate of Rs. 700 and the percentage from Bombay, not including any duty there was nearly two per cent.

From Solapur, the imports were cloth and grain-estimating the bullocks load at Rs. 350. The amount of customs to the inhabitants of Pandharpur was about 1¼ per cent. There was also sometimes 'kirana' imported from Solapur when articles happened to be particularly high priced in the Konkan. An importer bringing down kirana from Solapur to Karad, paid at the average rate of 8 per cent.

But the principal trade was with the southern Konkan. Rice and 'kirana' of all sorts were imported. Bhusa paid at the average rate of 10 per cent whereas, kirana about 5 per cent.

All kinds of kirana paid equally per bullock load, which made the duty very heavy on the cheaper articles where the kirana was classed into superior or inferior. A heavier duty was levied on the superior article but it did not amount to half so much per cent as the inferior sort. Where that was the case as the dealers had no passports, the collectors of customs

had no means of ascertaining the proper rate to levy as transit duty except by the weight and by the smell.

The gross revenues of the territory during the twenty years of Raja Pratapsinha's reign averaged about Rs. 31, 80, 377 and the net revenues Rs. 14, 56, 603 : and that the net and gross revenues of the territory during the nine years of Raja Shahaji's reign averaged Rs. 31, 20, 350 and Rs. 14, 4, 101 : showing a decrease during Raja Shahaji's reign of Rs. 60,027 in the gross, and of Rs. 52,502 in the net revenue.[119] The decrease in the revenue during his reign aroused from his granting lands more liberally than Pratapsinha and from his having abolished transit duties.

The average annual remissions granted by Raja Pratapsinha were Rs. 1,74,427 and by Raja Shahaji Rs. 1,38,340.[120]

The average balances left annually uncollected : under Raja Pratapsinha Rs. 1,48,329, under Raja Shahaji Rs. 1,53,240.[121]

The advances averaged Rs. 14,505 a year under Raja Pratapsinha and Rs. 4,702 under Raja Shahaji.[122]

The expenses of collection annually averaged Rs. 8,94,290 during Raja Pratapsinha's reign, Rs. 8,78,041 during Raja Shahaji's reign.[123]

Notes

1. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 'Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa', 2nd edi. (Bombay, 1872).
2. Ibid, p. 78.
3. Ibid, p. 30.
4. Selections ... from the records of East India House relating to ... revenue, police, civil and criminal justice under the company's Government in India. Vol. IV, (London, 1820-1826), pp. 672-674.
5. Ibid.
6. Extra assessment above the public revenue levied formerly by the revenue officers on the pretext of defraying local district charges.
7. EIP, Vol. IV, pp. 672-674.
8. Elphinstone, Report, p. 30.
9. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 10.7.1818.
10. Ibid.
11. See MSS EUR D:464, answer to the question 97.
12. Ibid, answer to 100.
13. Monthly or other periodical pay or allowance.
14. Conferring honour upon one as by paying him a visit, presenting a dress of honour, or any complimentary donation.

15. A complete dress of honour.
16. Grain presented to the head of the village or the Government officers, on the ripening of the crop.
17. A pair of shoes exacted periodically by the head village officer from the village shoemaker, or a money cess in lieu of it.
18. Goats or sheep levied from a village as an offering to Durgadevi at the Dasara.
19. Fee paid at marriages to the priest or the astrologer.
20. A small douceur or bribe of a few rupees to stir up or refresh the memory.
21. A levy on weavers of garment.
22. A rope dancer or an actor (Dombari).
23. The rights of the village hereditary officers.
24. The written assent of the ryots to the assessment taken by the Patil, and handed over to the Mamlatdar.
25. The forced labour used for public and private service and no pay was given.
26. House tax.
27. MSS EUR D:464 answer to question 41.
28. Ibid., answer to the question 43.
29. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 17.8.1819.
30. Ibid.

31. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 30.4.1820, See pp. 24 to 27.

32. Ibid.

33. DC-464, Circular by Elphinstone.

34. Pasturage and gross-land customs, intoxicating drugs and spirits, Ghikenna, Dawar Mahal and various other items, which were generally granted in contract, were exceptions to those two general classification.

35. MSS EUR D:468, answer to the question 25.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid, answer to the questions 48 and 49.

38. Ibid, answer to the question 51.

39. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, resources and Co.', 20.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), pp. 170-171.

40. A written Agreement.

41. The document in which a payer of revenue whether to the government, the zamindar, or the farmer, expresses his consent to pay the amount assessed upon his land.

42. A written bond or agreement : It is commonly applied to a counterpart covenant on the part of the proprietors or cultivators of land, agreeing to the rates of assessment imposed by the Government.

43. SRC 5/2:15, Revenue Regulations, 30.4.1820.

44. Ibid.

45. Annual settlement of revenue with cultivators (ryotwari settlement).

46. G. S. Sardesai, <u>Marathi Riyasat uttar vibhag bhag 3</u>, (Bombay, 1932), pp. 594-595.

47. 'व गाववाले यास ताकीद केली की जमीन पड लागण पाौ टाकली वतनदारानी तरी पैका घेतला जाईल पुढेले साली... तरी तेा पाटील कुलकर्णी या पासून घेतला जाईल ती याद वाचली.
See Roj. 9, 18.1.1826, p. 63.
'हाली प्रांतात पड फार जाली सार ज्या गावी पड आहे त्या गावचे पाटील कुलकर्णी व यास पडीची लागवण करण्याची ठरवून देऊन त्याप्रमाणे कबुलाती घ्याव्या आणि दरोबस्त लागण करावी.' 'ज्या गावी पड नाही व पड आहे ते गाव सुध्दा कबुलाती घ्याव्या की यापुढे पड होऊ देणार नाही...'.

Roj. 11, 2.11.1827, pp. 43-44.

48. Roj. 8, 26.12.1824, p. 46. See also Roj. 10, 13.12.1826, p. 43.

49. MSS EUR D:464, answer to the question 36.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid, answer to the questions 29 to 34.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 30.1.1819.

55. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME,10.8.1819, See also DCIS, R.No. 55, file 7.

56. 'बाजीराव याणी जमाबंदी चडविली सवाओ दिडी मक्तेदार याणी घालून बसून रयतेपासून घेतला तोच आकार सरासरी पाहून ग्रांट साहेबानी जमा धरीला.'
DCIS, R.N. 55, file 7.

57. Report by W. C. Parr, 31.8.1851, <u>BGR (N.S.)</u>, <u>XLI</u>, (1857), p. 198.

58. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, resources and Co.' 20.8.1851, <u>BGR (N.S.) XLI</u>, (1857), p. 172.

59. See DCIS, R.No. 55, file 7.

60. SRC 5/2:2, F. Wardan-WC, 14.8.1821.

61. SRC 5/2:2, JG-HA, 30.8.1821.

62. Ibid.

63. SRC 5/2:2, JG-WC, 15.9.1821.

64. MSS EUR D:464, answer to the question 26.

65. Ibid.

66. SRC 5/2:2, JG-HA, 30.8.1821.

67. SRC 5/2:15, See regulations for the native surveyors, 15.11.1820.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Henry Adams must have written a detail report of his survey, settlement and assessment. But I could not get that report in Pune Archives and the Bombay Archives which I traced much.

72. Roj. 14, 7.9.1831, p. 359. See also Roj. 15, 27.4.1832, p. 217, See also Roj. 16, 1.2.1833, pp. 129-30.

73. Roj. 15, 27.4.1832, p. 213.

74. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, resources and Co.' 20.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), p. 172.

75. Sandford was the assistant commissioner in charge of Karad, Walwe, Khanapur and Bijapur in 1851.

76. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884, p. 340.

77. Roj. 16, 1.2.1833, pp. 129-30.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Roj. 12, 24.6.1829, p. 276.

81. Report by Sandford, 9.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), p.191.

82. Report by W. C. Parr, 31.8.1851, BGR (N.S) XLI, (1857), p. 198.

83. Report by Sandfort, 9.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), pp. 191-192.

84. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, resources and Co.', 20.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), pp. 173-174.

85. Ibid, p. 174.

86. A report by Sandford, 9.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), p. 195.

87. MSS EUR D:464, answering to the question 76.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. SRC 5/2:15, See revenue regulations, 30.4.1820.

91. MSS EUR D:464, answering to the question 87.

92. A list of remittances of cash specifying the coins of which they consist.

93. MSS EUR D:464, answering to the question 82.

94. Ibid.

95. SRC 5/2:15, Revenue regulations, 30.4.1820.

96. Rate of exchange also discount on uncurrent or short weight rupees.

97. A kind of rupee.

98. Stamped at centre.

99. Old rupee - impression distorted.

100. Coin not in circulation (broken).

101. SRC 5/2:15, Revenue regulations, 30.4.1820.

102. See MSS EUR D:464-M, answering to the questions 1-5. It means a tax or taxes levied on trades and professions, on the artificers of a village or their implements, and sometimes upon houses.

103. They were Teli, Tamboli, Mali, Khatik, Shimpi, Weaver, etc.

104. MSS EUR D:464-M, answering to the questions 1-5.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid, answering to the question 8.

107. Ibid, answering to the question 9.

108. Ibid, answering to the question 10.

109. Ibid, answering to the question 11.

110. A worker in leather, especially a saddler and harness-maker.

111. MSS EUR D:464-M, answering to the question 12.

112. Ibid, answering to the questions 14 & 15.

113. MSS EUR D:464-C, answering to the question 6.

114. Ibid, answering to the question Abkaree 1.

115. Ibid.

116. Taxes collected in money.

117. Price paid for the grazing of cattle in forests or on waste lands.

118. SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 23.1.1820.

119. T. Ogilvy, 'Revenues, resources and Co.', 20.8.1851, BGR (N.S.) XLI, (1857), p. 167.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid, p. 168.

After 1818, when the whole Maratha country came under the direct administration of the British, the idea of justice began to change and develop.

The Maratha concept and sense of justice was mainly based on the traditional Sanskrit sacred law books and the traditional Hindu concepts of morality and social ethics. The criminal law, called 'Danda-niti' was generally severe and harsh. Equality before law was not known to them, because of the peculiar social order that was prevailing in India.

On the other hand the British concept of justice was entirely different from that of the Marathas. They believed that no man is guilty till proved. They gave more importance to the elaborate procedure of law. Rule of law, equality before law and the due procedure of law were some of the fundamental principles of the British system of justice. In the pre-British period custom, religion and tradition all combined in the process of justice and the British were complete strangers to the ways of Hindu and Mohemmedan life. It must be said that Mountstuart

Elphinstone who did pioneering efforts in establishing a new system of judicial administration, following certain concepts of British system in the Maratha country.[1]

Justice under the Marathas, was based upon the Dharmashastras. _Vijnanesvara_, _Vyavaharamayukha_ and the _Danakamalakara_ were the principal authorities while Manu, Hemadri, Madhava were also quoted by the judical authorities.[2] Similarly there were special books embodying various caste-laws such as _jati-nirnaya_ and _vyvahar-nirnaya_ which were consulted in deciding caste disputes.[3]

During the Peshwa period the organization of judiciary was as follows.

At the central, the Maratha king, had become titular head of the Maratha State after 1750 and the Peshwa had become the _de facto_ ruler of the Maratha Government. Consequently, the importance in the judicial administration of such officials like the Nyayadhish and the Panditrao also declined. As the Maratha king, the head of the Huzur Hazir Majlis became the nominal head of the Maratha State and the Rajmandal the main constituent of the Dharmasabha, was set aside by the Peshwa. This highest judicial assembly in the state fell into disuse, and the

development of a strong centralised justiciary ceased forever. The Peshwa became the highest judicial authority in the state. It appears that the first three Peshwas who held the office during the reign of Shahu continued the time-honoured system of trial by a Majlis and settled disputes with the help of the Gota.[4] A Majlis was an open court, consisted of officers of the government and other state officers. While Gota was indigenous judicial institution. But after the death of Shahu, the system was replaced by trial by the panchayats.[5] In the absence of the Peshwa, the Diwan or the Phadnis used to hear the important suits and tried them through the Panchayat.[6] The Peshwa appointed a special Nyayadhish, whose jurisdiction was confined to cases referred to him by the Peshwa and extended to civil and criminal matters.

All the local officers, Sarsubhedars, Subhedars or Mamlatdars and Kamavisdars were authorised to decide suits through the Panchayats. The Sarsubhedars and even some of the Subhedars and Mamlatdars, possessed both original and appellate jurisdiction. It does not seem, however, that there was a definite gradation of these officers or their powers. Generally, the suits were tried on the spot and if dissatisfied at the decision, the plaintiff had liberty to appeal to

some higher authority of his choice.[7] The following remark of Grant regarding the powers of these government officers deserves attention.[8]

"The officers of the government used with the consent of the parties to decide petty causes, such as disputes regarding common small debts, and the Shastri, Mamlatdar, or person in authority, had power to judge the propriety of assembling a panchayat or sending away the plaintiff, but it was unusual and perfectly unauthorised to decide on any important cause without the authority of panchayat."

The most common mode of forming a Panchayat was to allow the parties to name certain number of persons and if they could not choose them, they were obliged to consent to certain nominations by the government karkun or superintendent who was to watch the proceedings of the Panchayat.[9] The Panchayat had its jurisdiction over all sorts of civil cases.

The nature of the punishments under the Peshwa was traditional. Divyas or justice by ordeal were still practised. The Brahmins were exempted from the capital punishments.

After the British conquest of Maharashtra and the installation of Pratapsinha on the Gadi of Satara, Mountstuart Elphinstone decided 'to keep the judicial system unchanged'.

Regarding the judicial matter, the main instruction of Elphinstone to James Grant, the Political Agent at Satara was that the, 'justice is to be administered according to the forms established in the country with such modifications as ... necessary to the attainment of the end in view'.[10] Elphinstone proposed 'that the native system should still be preserved and means to remove its abuses and revive its energy. Such a course will be more welcome to the natives than any entire change...'[11] He reported to the Governor General that 'in general the Maratha system has been kept unchanged'. Elphinstone seems to have been influenced by the views of Munro who writes : "It is too much regulation that ruins everything; English men are as great fanatics in politics as Mahomedans in religion. They suppose that no country can be saved without English institutions. The natives of this country have enough of their own to answer every useful object of internal administration, and if we maintain and protect them, our work will be easy. It not disturbed by innovation, the country will in a very few months settle itself."[12]

In civil matters arbitration was considered to be the best form of solution of disputes. It was to be conducted by panchayat. "Panchayats may be formed in

different ways : the best seem to be, to allow the parties to choose two members each, but for the public officer to nominate the umpire from the most respectable of inhabitants not in service of the government and not objected to by either party".[13] The decisions awarded by the panchayats were not to be brushed aside, unless of course there was glaring improprieties.[14]

The panchayat system was greatly appreciated by the English. With all the faults of the panchayat system the English felt that 'our principal instrument must continue to be the panchayat, and that must continue to be exempt from all new forms interference and regulation on our part'.[15] In his 'Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa' Elphinstone laid down the basic rules of administration of civil justice through the panchayats. In spite of the adverse reports on the working of the panchayats from his various collectors, Elphinstone persisted in his experiments with panchayats for a variety of reasons. In the first place, the panchayats were the least expensive form of administering justice. The judicial administration was to be self sustaining.[16] All these principles were followed by James Grant in his administration of justice at Satara.

Secondly, the English conquerors of the Maratha country knew that the political struggle between the

Peshwas and themselves did not go deep down to the masses. The masses seemed indifferent to the fate of their ruler. The Gadi of Satara was created to nurse the injuries, if any, caused to the Maratha national sentiment. But the masses would be touched to the quick if their equanimity was disturbed. This could best be preserved by leaving the time honoured institutions intact.

Thirdly, it may be surmised that Elphinstone was keen on creating a Bombay or a Deccan system to vie profitably with the socalled Bengal system. His entire report to the Governor General at Calcutta is imbibed with this spirit.[17]

Grant's experiments with panchayats were tiresome. The panchayats as divined by Elphinstone were normally slow in arriving at any decision. On 6th September 1818 Grant complained to Elphinstone that the panchayat sits for days together, just saying 'Kausa-Kausa' and never coming to any decision.[18] Yet with remarkable perserverance Grant continued his work. He personally supervised the work of the panchayats. Constant vigilence was his motto.[19] He urged his officers to do the likewise. Grant preferred panchayts over an establishment headed by himself. "In a case of life and death (without any affection of being scrupulous) I really do not like the idea of

being a judge and jury. I would much rather have the panchayat (and it would give much satisfaction to the people of the country as far as I judge) because I shall have an opportunity of stating my own judgement and I have the benefit of that of others who have learned the whole of the particulars of a case...."[20] In the same letter he informs Elphinstone that he now has a longer judicial establishment of '<u>umedwars</u>' with Nilkantha Shastri as the head, and asks him if he was to establish a criminal court or "ought I now to commence panchayats I myself presiding and a Hindu judge pronouncing the law".[21] Elphinstone had already given his decision shortly before this : 'the experiment of Panchayats in criminal cases is desirable and Satara is a better place to begin at than any of our own stations but at present the most desirable of all things is to avoid experiments of every description. We will see about them a year hence'.[22]

It was difficult to make the panchayats work without some incentives. Grant was faced with this problem. The question was "whether or not some remuneration according to the value of the suit, should be granted to members of panchayats". Grant preferred that question be settled by the servants of the Raja, but found that "they are quite undecided as to the amount or as to which party the remuneration should be

paid by". Though he despaired of any decision he was willing to wait till they came to some agreement. Another problem that he had to face was the corrupt practices of the members of the panchayat. In a case of adoption, he found that the parties had given bribes and though the decision was just, he, after investigating the whole matter "privately communicated the whole affair to the Raja and suggested his issuing a proclamation, declaring that any person who gave bribes should on that account alone, forfeit his suit, and that from the date of the proclamation, should it here after be proved that any one has given a bribe to propitiate or to reward any member of a panchayat, the decree would be reversed, and a decision given in favour of the opponent."

But what is to be done in a case, in which complainant bribes, the panchayat in spite of his claim being honest and just? Giving a decision in favour of the opponent would be "altogether unreasonable". Should property in such cases be sequesterated? "But this would be very objectionable procedure in a government where the law is expounded by the individual who derives personal advantage from forfeiture. There may be no avoiding it where both parties give bribes, but it seeks advisable to leave that to circumstances

and observe what effect the proclamation may produce."[23]

A complainant could request the government to refer his case to a panchayat. For example, Madhavrao Mirajkar's daughter married to the son of Sakhapant Kale, for which he was arrested by Chintamanrao. Madhavrao felt that this action was unjust, and he worked for a panchayat to investigate this business, without discussing it openly.[24] On 8th September 1818, Grant reports to Elphinstone, "I can send a summary of my Adault proceedings but except great crimes and one fellow my own nujjar drowned (driven?) round the town for stealing a tota (poppet), I have settled everything by panchayat, however, I cannot get them to clear their proceedings they sit day after day and talk Kusa Kusa but no decision. I have been stirning up all hands for the last week in the judicial subject".[25] On 26th July, 1819, he reports to Elphinstone that "... we never decide ourselves in any but trifling cases. Thus in our column of cases decided by me (or) Barnett, it is merely dismissing a complaint as frivolous or recommending the parties to settle it quietly in their homes".[26] However, he suggests a more regular form in the constitution of panchayats "the panchayats will not Chal (work) without the number being recommended."[27]

The volume of the judicial business was very

enormous. The Satara Adalat possibly could not have gone into all the cases. For example, from 1st May 1818 to 31st March 1819, 1216 cases of all descriptions were made at Satara, of which 404 were settled by Grant and his assistants while 759 cases were referred to Mamlatdars.[28] It was therefore felt that the petty offences should be tried by local officials with the help of the panchayats.[29] The cases were to go up the ladder via the Mamlatdars and Sarsubhedars. Major cases of course were to be reported to the headquarters. Proceeding of the cases involving capital crimes were to be reported to the Bombay government. The revenue officials were, under this system, involved in judicial business. William Chaplin, the Commissioner of Deccan, put forward this combination of duties as a principal objection to the handing over of the judicial business over to the Raja, as proposed by Grant.

It was in the nature of things as they were, that an establishment of judiciary with Grant as the *de facto* head should be inevitable. On 30th July 1818, Grant proposed a few persons he wished to appoint at Satara on the salaries mentioned against their names.

"Neelkant Shastrey as Nyayadeesh on	Rs. 150 + presents
Aneeaba Chitaley is a shrewed intelligent Punchayatee	Rs. 75

Mahadajee Pant a good old fellow	Rs. 45
Ramchandra Pant Gockla not worth more than	Rs. 40"[30]

Justice was the first department that could be handed over to the Raja without any serious compromise on the part of the British Government. With this view in mind, Grant seems to have begun the education of the Raja in judicial matters. His advice in this area of his education is referred to by Raja Pratapsinha in his Rojnishis. Grant seems to have impressed upon the Raja the desirability of latter's attending the judicial business in person. "This would create confidence about Maharaj in the minds of the people".[31] We may conclude from the references found in the Rojnishis of Raja Pratapsinha that Grant expounded to Pratapsinha basic principles like the rule of law, due process of law or ideas like the welfare state.[32]

In the beginning as a judicial business was unknown to the Raja, he or his people transacted the 'business of the Nyadiesh' in the presence of Grant or of Barnett.[33] There were also other English officers, named Little, Cap. Adams to assist the Raja but they never interfered unless they found some thing wrong.[34] It was Grant's desire to hand over judicial business to the king as early as possible.[35]

Pratapsinha used to come to the Adalat regularly to transact judicial business. "Maharaj is very regular in attending his Diwan".[36] Grant felt that the attendance of the king "gives general satisfaction, although there is a want of decision and efficiency not at all satisfactory to our notions of justice".[37] When there was no possibility of injustice Grant was careful not to impose his western ideas. However, he was not sure that the Raja was trained enough to do away with his supervision. He wrote "I have not yet however been able to withdraw my personal superintendence from the Nyadish for a single day ..."[38] In the report of his proceedings during the quarter ending of the 30th April 1820, however, Grant says that he was gradually withdrawing his superintendence over the Raja's judicial administration. "In the course of another month I shall withdraw even the appearance of superintendence and merely hear the letters read which are daily dispatched on judicial subject."[39]

In general, Grant was satisfied with the Raja's progress. "We are getting on very well", he reported to Elphinstone towards the end of 1819. "The Raja attends daily to administer justice to his people, and can give instructions in any common case without

looking into Barnett's face to see if he be right or wrong".[40]

By May, 1820 Grant himself had altogether ceased to attend the Raja's court of Justice. His assistants still attended, but only to give advice, if the Raja asked for it. If they thought that injustice was being done, they reported to Grant and he took it up afterwards in private with the Raja.[41]

The people were happy to find the judicial business made easy. Grant reported to William Chaplin "The lower orders of the people were literally delighted at being able to state their complaints to the Raja seated on his gadee, and, all were pleased at the ready access and prompt means of redress which this plan seems to afford ...."[42] Nevertheless, he intended within another month to remove all appearance of superintendence in judicial matters, with a view to handing over control of the administration by stages to the Raja.

The Raja was popular. It seems that he was impartial as well. The Raja was learning the judicial business pretty fast. Sometimes, however, he committed mistakes. On one occasion the Raja interferred unjustly with a decision taken by a panchayat. On Grant's remonstrance, the Raja agreed that he had

committed a mistake but felt that he could not reverse the decision since it involved a matter of prestige. Grant felt that the reversal must be made forth with as prestige could not be placed above justice. Some one from the Raja's enturage felt that the sovereignty of the Raja was nominal. Since he could not do as he pleased, and said so. Where upon the Raja replied that he could do whatever he pleased so long as it was right and according to law.[43] This incident is indicative of the Raja's grasping the true spirit of the new judicial philosophy.

The main sphere of Raja's judicial activity was civil. By the Dasara of 1820, it was expected that even the criminal justice could be handed over to the Raja.

In the beginning, decisions related to criminal cases were taken by Grant himself. Major cases, of course, were to be reported to the head-quarter. Proceedings of the cases involving capital crimes were to be reported to the Bombay Government. When Raja Pratapsinha started becoming expert in judicial activity, powers of criminal justice were handed over to him one by one of which one important was power of hang over.[44]

On 10th November 1819, the Raja's government

issued orders relating the general maintenance of civil justice and police. They are thirtynine in number. Grant in his report of 13th February 1820, to Chaplin had given a true translation of those orders.[45] It gives a clear picture of judicial institutions under Raja Pratapsinha.

According to the first order when disputes or differences arose neighbours of the parties concerned generally settled the claims of each by friendly advice. Panchayats were to be applied for when there was no other means of effecting an agreement.[46] The policy of the government was this good custom should be continued and preserved so that people would be induced to settle their dispute amongst themselves. 'Amicable settlement of existing disputes would always give government the greatest satisfaction' and 'Government would always be highly pleased to hear private adjustment'.[47]

It was decided by the government that no '<u>Harki</u>' or '<u>Gunhegari</u>' would be levied if the people settled their disputes amongst themselves.[48] Harki was, a money paid to the court in token of his gratification by the successful suiter or litigant while Gunhegari was, a fine paid to the government by the suiter who failed in his case.

The judicial administration under Pratapsinha was three tier. At the lower level, there were a 'village panchayat' assembled under the authority of a Patil, and a 'Peth Panchayat' of Shete,Mahajan, acted as primary units of judicial administration. Above it there was 'Peta Panchayat' or we can say a Taluq Panchayat, which assembled under the authority of Mamlatdar. And at the top there was the Huzur Adalat. Under Raja Shahaji, we find a new picture of the judicial administration altogether. The lowest judicial officer was the Patil. Above him was the Shekdar. Suits of less than Rs. 10 were referred to the Shekdar of the village group within which the cause of action arose or the defendant dwelt.[49] Above him was the Mamlatdar who could dispose of claim under Rs. 25. The Mamlatdar in each subdivision or peta held a court of petty requests in which a petition was received and the defendant called upon for his reply. In the disposal of these cases no powers of award were vested in the Mamlatdars.[50] In each subdivision there was a civil court which was headed by the judges named Amins and Nyayadhishes.[51] The highest judicial authority was the Huzur or Raja Shahaji.

Village Panchayat

When disputes and claims arose amongst the

villagers, which they could not adjust among themselves, the Patil used his endeavour to settle all such matters amicably. It was considered a good sign of proper superintendence in a village when Panchayat was a rare occurrence. When arbitration became necessary, the Patil was authorised to assemble a Panchayat. This he could do without any reference or report to government, when the property in dispute was of no great value.[52]

A village Panchayat was much more simple and often conducted in an informal manner. There was no writing except the '<u>Razi-nama</u>' of the plaintiff and defendant and a memorandum or the '<u>Sarauosh</u>' kept by the Kulkarni. <u>Razi-nama</u> was a testimonial signed by a plaintiff at the end of a suit that he was satisfied with the decision. While Sarauosh was a short statement of proceedings kept by the panchayat and at the close, signed by each member. The government considered the decision taken by village Panchayat as fixed and perfectly valid, provided there be no proof of corruption or gross injustice. If either party could adduce proof of corruption they were to make their complaint to the Mamlatdar or Sarsubhedar. He was to investigate the affair on the spot. If, after a deliberate inquiry any proof be adduced or he conceived that injustice had been practised and if he considered the appeal worthy of being forwarded, he was to direct the aggrieved

party to go to Satara giving them a letter addressed to the Huzur. In this letter he was to state the whole case with remarks.[53] If the appeal on investigation appeared to be well founded, the decree was declared to be null and void.

When a Patil refused to assemble a panchayat or when either party objected to having its dispute settled in its own village or if the parties were not satisfied with the decision of their village men, they could appeal to the Mamlatdar. They could also complain to the Shekdar who could advise the patil or report to the Mamlatdar. Shekdar possessed no power of assembling a panchayat, unless specially delegated by the head of the 'Peta'.[54] When a complaint reached to the Mamlatdar, he could direct the Patil to assemble a Panchayat or grant an order on some Patil of a neighbouring village at the opinion of the parties. The Mamlatdar could also dismiss the complaint, if he saw fit, but the circumstances must in such case be briefly stated to the Huzur in the monthly list of cases. It was one of the important duty of the Mamlatdar to report to the Huzur at the end of each month in which he was to state the number of crimes, how many were apprehended etc.[55]

The Patil could not compel the attendance of

members, if they did not choose to take an interest in the dispute. There was no regular mode of compulsion.[56]

About the composition of a village Panchayat, the traditional method was followed. The members of a Panchayat were generally selected by the officers of government by whom it was granted with the approbation of the parties, and often at their suggestion. Some times the parties chose an equal number each, and the officer named an umpire. The members were generally the people of the same situation in life as the parties or people likely to understand the subject in discussion. For example, as bankers in a matter of account, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes when the suit was about land.[57] Their number was never less than five.

The parties and witnesses were summoned by the Chaugula or he would send one of the Dhers (a menial servant) of the villages for that purpose.[58]

Normally, the members of a village Panchayat assembled under a tree or in the temple or choultry (dharmashala).[59]

'Peth' or 'Kasba' Panchayat

The Shete, an hereditary officer in a mart, and Mahajan, his assistant in the different pethas of cities and towns, were usually called upon by the merchants and traders to settle their disputes. In case

the affair in dispute was of small value and the Shete with the assistance of neighbours could not effect an amicable adjustment, a Panchayat to which neither party objected was assembled by the Shete. Like village panchayat there was no writing except the Razi-nama and Sarauosh, the Shete was to preserve the copies of both Razi-nama and Sarauosh. It was however, unnecessary to forward them to the government.[60]

The members of the Peth or Kasba Panchayat were generally the people from market place. They were generally the Shete, Mahajan, Chaudhari or the heads of the kasba, the Khooms or Mehatars (chiefs) of different trades and the people coming from villages such as Patil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh and Deshpande.[61]

When the value of the matter in dispute was considerable, neither the Patil nor the Shete was competent to assemble a Panchayat, but if they could effect an amicable compromise by their own interference or that of neighbours, they were welcome to do so, however, important the case might be.[62]

'Peta' Panchayat

When no amicable adjustment could be effected and the value of the suit was considerable, complaint was to be made to the Mamlatdar. He could call the parties and endeavour to settle the dispute amicably

by advising the parties to what he thought best. If both the parties persisted in requiring a Panchayat he was to assemble one. The members of the Panchayat were to be nominated by him but approved by the parties. If both the parties in any suit choose to refer their cause to the decision of a third person, even after the proceedings of the Panchayat had commenced, they were at liberty to do so, provided that in the event of their dispute still remaining unadjusted, they could not have a Panchayat reassembled until every cause on the file should have been adjusted.[63] Every complainant's name was to be put down in regular order according to the date on which the complaint was made and the case of each person was to be investigated or dismissed in the order in which consistently be attended to.[64]

When a Panchayat was assembled under the authority of a Mamlatdar every usual form was observed and after the Sarauosh was closed by the members, it was forwarded to the Huzur for confirmation. In cases when, after the Sarauosh was given and either of the parties were refused to abide by it, the reason was received and if the party objected on account of bribery or partiality, was written out and forwarded to the Huzur, but if there was no proof brought forwarded in support of the allegation, the Mamlatdar enforced

the observance of the Sarauosh.[65]

The Mamlatdar might punish the offending party by a fine not more than two rupees (Rs. 2), or by confinement (among the lower classes) in the village Dharmashala for a period not exceeding 48 hours. In all cases where the mamlatdar might consider the parties deserving of a severe punishment, he was to send them to the Huzur.[66] All the fines or imprisonments were to be duly reported to the government. Mamlatdar was to continue to send in at the end of each month, the daily statement of all complaints, the total number remaining on the file from former months and the number adjusted and under investigation to be duly specified according to the existing form.

If any member of a Panchayat should be suspected of acting unjustly or receiving a bribe either from the plaintiff or defendant and if there was any thing to prove that application should be made to the Huzur, but appeals which were evidently made for throwing obstacles in the way of just decrees were never attended.

In cases where persons persisted in stating the members of a Panchayat had been corrupted although that might not be evident on enquiry, the complainant might obtain a full revision of the proceedings by giving in a paper, to the king binding himself to the payment of

such fines as might be thought proper in case of his not being able to substantiate his statement. Security must at the same time be given for the payment of such fine in the event of its being necessary to enforce it.

Complaints against the members of a Panchayat were allowed within two months after their decision arrived, and no complaints were allowed after four months.

The regulation was made and published for the guidance of Mamlatdars and members of Panchayats that disputes about debts and other matters which had taken place within thirtysix (36) years before the country came under the British Government, should be attended to but if they were of older standing than thirtysix years they should be rejected unheard, however, disputes relating to mortgage of watan and claims of lands should be attended to provided they had occurred within seventy years previous to the country having come under the British Government.[67]

A Tagada (importunity in urging the payment of a debt) still continued to exist under the British, although it was never carried to such lengths as it was under the former government.

In all matters of debt the Mamlatdar was obliged to refer to the Huzur where investigation was

instituted respecting the time at which the debt was incurred should it be within the last six and thirty years, further inquiry was made at to the ability of the debtor to discharge the amount for which he issued. In the latter case, the plaintiff was informed that it was invain to seek for a settlement of his claims from a bankrupt, and that he must patiently wait until his debtor was in better circumstances. When of course his dues would meet with every attention in the former case, the party concerned was summoned to appear and questioned respecting the truth of the debt; if he admitted it, he was ordered to pay it as soon as possible, if he neglected to do so, a <u>tagada</u> was placed over him by government until some arrangement was made which was generally satisfactory effected by concessions on both sides, as to paying and receiving the sum in portions and at certain fixed periods. If the defendant denied the debt, and both parties consent to a Panchayat, the same was immediately granted. A <u>Tagada</u> was occasionally employed to enforce the payment of revenue, but that was seldom of long duration, for if the ryot possessed the ability and refused to pay, it was levied upon the person who had stood security for him. If that however failed he was forwarded to the Huzur where the fear of confinement removed all obstacles.[68]

According to W. R. Morris, the first assistant of James Grant, the Tagada system was sufficient to bring about some arrangement of all debts and claims which was the only advantage resulting from it.[69]

Raja Pratapsinha declared that boundary disputes were to be settled under the supervision of a Mamlatdar of that peta.[70] Boundary disputes were usually solved by assembling a panchayat. Mamlatdar of that particular peta played a very important role in settling the boundary dispute. It was a Mamlatdar who was to appoint a Panch (or judge).[71] Mamlatdar was to be present when the boundary disputes were settled.

Boundary disputes were very frequent and numerous in the Raja's territory. James Grant issued a proclamation directing all villages having disputed boundaries to come forward and make application for Panchayats.[72] But Henry Adams was not satisfied with the working of Panchayats. In his letter to John Briggs dated 30th July 1823, he pointed out that Panchayat was often ineffectual when the dispute existed between two of Raja's villages and further suggested "some improvements may be adopted without wholly doing away with what appears to have been the general practice of the country hitherto in such cases."[73]

We come across a number of boundary disputes,

in English records between the territories of Pratapsinha and those of Patwardhans of Sangli,Tasgaon and Miraj. They were generally settled with the assistance of the various British officers.[74]

Boundary disputes quite often referred to the Central Government. For example, in the year 1821 fourteen (14) boundary disputes were referred to the government from which three came from Pandharpur Peta, one from Bijapur, seven from Khanapur, two from Walwe, and one from Targaon Peta.[75]

Disputes regarding the fields in the village were solved through Panchayat assembled under the authority of a Mamlatdar in which Deshmukh, Deshpande were to be present.[76]

In brief, Mamlatdar was the judicial head of the peta. All types of civil cases like debt,disputes related to Watan, Inam, Miras lands, disputes related to share of family property, site of a house, marriage, adoption, precedence (Man-Pan) rights, caste, security, boundaries of fields of individuals or of villages, wages, were tried under his authority. In the year 1821, 287 complaints were made to Koregaon Mamlatdar, 391 were referred to the Mamlatdar of Wai, 51 were made to the Mamlatdar of Khatao, 196 were made to the Mamlatdar of Pandharpur, 65 made to the Mamlatdar

of Bijapur, 215 were referred to the Mamlatdar of Khanapur, 242 were referred to the Mamlatdar of Walwe, 229 were made to the Mamlatdar of Karad, 115 were made to the Mamlatdar of Targaon and 298 were made to the Mamlatdar of Satara.[77] The fact that a number of complaints were made direct to the Mamlatdar conveyed a very fair proof of the reliance placed by the people upon the integrity of that office.

Under Raja Pratapsinha we often come across in documents the references of 'Peta Panchayat'. While under Raja Shahaji we find that civil courts were established assembled and headed by Mamlatdar in the eleven sub-divisions. <u>Amins</u> and Nyayadhishs were appointed as regular judges on fixed salaries. In the eleven petas or sub-division sixteen civil courts, five for amins and eleven for nyayadhishs were established. Of the five amin's courts, with powers to decide suits of Rs. 300 and upwards, three were held at Satara, one at Karad and one at Khanapur. The Satara courts had jurisdiction over six sub-divisions Jawli, Khatav, Koregaon, Satara, Targaon and Wai; the Karad court over two sub-divisions Karad and Walwe; and the Khanapur court over three sub-divisions Khanapur, Pandharpur and Bijapur. Each of the eleven Nyayadhish's courts was held at the head-quarters of each of the eleven

sub-divisions, with powers to decide suits of Rs. 25 to 300.[78]

Under Raja Shahaji the Mamlatdar disposed of claims under Rs. 25. The Mamlatdar in each sub-division held a court of petty requests in which a petition was received and the defendant called upon for his reply. If the defendant admitted the claim, an order to pay was endorsed on the petition; if he disputed the debt, the case was reported to the chief. In the disposal of these cases no powers of award were vested in the Mamlatdars who, after having taken the evidence on both sides, referred their proceedings for final disposal to the Huzur.[79]

Under Raja Pratapsinha,Shekdar was a mere revenue officer. No judicial powers were attached to him. But under Shahaji suits of less than Rs. 10 were usually referred by the Mamlatdar to the Shekdar of the village group within which the cause of action arose or the defendant dwelt. The Shekdar investigated and reported the case to the Mamlatdar in the same manner as did the Mamlatdar to the Huzur.[80]

Huzur Adalat

Raja Pratapsinha was the judicial head of the territory under him. He was the highest judicial authority. The judicial orders of 10th November 1819

said "the Maharaz will always be ready to hear the complaints of his subjects and all who choose to come before him will be heard daily at the Nyadeesh from noon till evening!"[81] "Raja usually attends his office daily at about eleven or twelve O'clock when he sits and hears all complaints "Viva-voce" (discussion) with secretaries around him making notes of such circumstances as require further investigation or reference."[82] The Raja did the judicial business in two ways. One with the assistance of Huzur Adalat and second by assembling the Panchayats known as 'Sarkari Panchayats'.

'To assist in superintending the administration of justice' there was a Huzur Adalat. It was also known as Huzur Majlis,[83] though James Grant preferred to call it as Huzur Panchayat. With the help of documents available we can say that it was a court of both civil as well as of criminal justice. Major suits of both civil and criminal sides were tried in it. The Raja's brother Appasaheb was entrusted with 'the superintendence of the criminal court of justice'.[84]

A 'Nyayadhish' or Adalat was held every day with the exception of some particular Hindu holidays, under the Raja's immediate superintendence and to which every individual of whatever caste had free

access and it was never adjourned until every complaint had been fully heard and decided. It is true that Mahars and Mangs stood at some distance when they make their complaints but they were always heard. Persons of respectability were invited to offer their opinion upon all subjects which might be brought forward their opinion upon all subjects which might be brought forward for discussion and the fullest investigation of all points was encouraged.[85] This system was not only maintained in Satara but during the annual revenue tour, the same plan was adopted and all persons were called upon to come forward and state grievances, on those occasions the Mamlatdar within whose district the encampment might be, was present and generally speaking far from proving a check, complainants took that opportunity of stating their claims.[86]

Huzur Adalat consisted of four members,[87] though Pratapsinha appointed five in the beginning[88] and one Shastri.

Nilkantha Shastri Thatte was the Adalat Shastri from 1818 to 1821.[89] In the midst of 1821 he left this office. He was replaced by Nanadixit Ayachit in the same year.[90] The Adalat Shastri was to explain the Hindu Dharmashastras.[91]

The four members of the Huzur Adalat were Anand Dhondo Chitale known as Anyaba Chitale, Viththal

Sakharam Parasnis, Mahipat Narayan alias Bapu Subhedar and Appaji Gundo in 1822.[92] As Anyaba Chitale and Parasnis were dismissed on charges of corruption Yashwantrao Godbole, Sarsubhedar was ordered to take charge for some time.[93] On 9th October 1822 Chintopant Bhate and Dajiba Upadhye were appointed as members of Huzur Adalat.[94] Sakharam Kanhere was appointed in 1824 because of the death of Appaji Gundo.[95]

The Diwan, Daftardar, Chitnis were used to be present at the Huzur Adalat to render assistance to the members.[96]

The main function of these four members was to aid the government in regulating the judicial business according to the custom. They were also to assist in the trial of persons for criminal offences.[97] The principal duties of these four officers were (i) administrative work connected with the court, (ii) recording of the evidence of the litigants and the accused, (iii) to make enquiry of the accused/to investigate the accused/to make investigations of the convicts, (iv) to maintain the records of investigations.[98]

In short four Adalat members made enquiry of the accused and if they came to a decision that such and such person was guilty then the advice of the Adalat Shastri was taken and finally they handed it

over to the Raja for final decision.

All civil suits were decided by panchayats nominated by the parties. If they could not agree upon nominees or decision of a Panchayat, the appeal was made to the Raja. The Huzur assembled Panchayats in the same was as that at the Mamlatdar's or other local officer's place.[99]

The panchayat assembled by the Huzur was known as the 'Sarcarry Panchayat'. In the Sarkari Panchayat instead of the parties nominating the members of the Panchayat, the government appointed those persons having no personal interest in the case to enquire and to decide. From these courts appeal lay to the Raja.[100] Opinions of the four Adalat members were always taken into consideration when <u>sarauosh</u> of the Panchayat was prepared. The first date, being that of the Hindu calendar/Muslim calendar was to be written by Viththal Sakharam Parasnis, the second date being that of the Christian calendar was to be written by Bapu Subhedar and Appaji Gundo was to mark the number of '<u>bands</u>' and Anand Chitale was to write '<u>yekunat</u>'. The Diwan was to write '<u>yene pramane</u>' then the '<u>karar sarkar</u>' was inserted and on the <u>bands</u> the Chitnis was to stamp the seal.[101]

The Marathi documents from Satara Maharaj Daftar called Phadposhi it appears that there were

generally six to seven karkuns to assist these four members.[102] These karkuns were to keep account of all the papers received and dispatched by or from the Nyayadhish. They were also to keep statements of robberies and murders in monthly and separate accounts. The four members of the Nyayadhish were to exert a strict superintendence over the karkuns appointed under them.

Whenever the king wanted to make enquiry about any particular case from any of the four members of the Nyayadhish he should be able to give a satisfactory account of them and they should always attend to the regular arrangement of their papers so as to be able to explain the state of the lists at any time.[103]

When any investigation was made in the Huzur Adalat, relating to any of the Patils or Kulkarnis having levied patties on the villagers for more than the amount of the government assessment, it was to be conducted in the presence of the Phadnis and where an investigation of the same nature took place by the Mamlatdar of any '<u>peta</u>' it should be in the presence of Sarsubhedar of that 'subha'.

The monthly salary of those four members of Huzur Adalat was between Rs. 100 to Rs. 200,[104] while the salary of Adalat Shastri was of Rs. 100 per month.[105] Decisions arrived at the Huzur Adalat were

considered as the final.

Though Pratapsinha appointed Chintaman Chitko Bhate to the office of Nyayadhish as a member of Ashta-Pradhan Mandala in 1836,[106] justice was given by Raja Pratapsinha himself. His decision was final.

If we examine the nature of the civil suits, that tried at the Huzur Adalat, we find that they are of various natures.[107] Some of them were connected with domestic or family problems. For example, a woman named Topai Dhunowli complained against her husband on 16th May 1818 at Huzur Adalat for improper behaviour. The husband was sent for and reprimanded after which the couple went away satisfied, and promising not to quarrel publicly in future.[108]

In Adalat a case was settled sometimes by arbitration also. For example, a complaint was made against Upadhye of Mahuli by Bachambhat Apte on 12th May 1818 for appropriating more than his just share of the offering at the temple at Mahuli.[109]

Sometimes one of the members of the council of four used to advise in a dispute and the dispute was settled with satisfaction without requiring even arbitration. Mukaji Gaikwad from Wai Peta complained against Bapu Waknis of Satara on 13th May 1818 for wages due to plaintiff which the parties settled on the advice of one of the members of the council of four

named Anyaba Chitale without going in for any arbitration.[110]

How the Huzur Adalat was taking roots in the society can be better understood by taking into account the increasing volume of cases referred to it from the petas. In the month of May 1818, fifteen (15) civil suits were tried at the Huzur Adalat.[111] In the year 1821, 580 civil cases were made to the Huzur of which 115 were made from Koregaon Peta, 120 from Wai Peta, 69 from Khatav, 67 from Pandharpur, 1 from Bijapur, 51 from Khanapoor, 44 from Walwe Peta, 33 from Karad, 10 from Targaon and 70 from Satara Peta.[112] In 1841-42, 4,808 appeals were made to the Adalat while in 1842-43, 3,439, of which 532 remained undecided in 1841-42 and 148 in 1842-43.[113]

The Government of Pratapsinha made many regulations with a view to prevent unnecessary complaints, to induce persons to settle their differences amicably and at the same time to reimburse the members of panchayats for the time and trouble which their attendance imposed and the government for the various expenses which were incurred by subsisting witnesses.[114]

The government also issued regulations respecting the taking of <u>nazars</u> in cases of adoption according to the manners and customs of the country.[115] In the

year 1821, 14 cases of adoption were made to the government.[116]

Under Raja Pratapsinha, 'the smaller jagirdars and inamdars possessed no power of administering justice or of issuing police regulations. The Patils and Kulkarnis of their villages were directed to observe the same system and to follow the rules prescribed for the other part of the districts in the performance of which, the jagirdars and inamdars were to render them every assistance; by any contrary conduct, such as affording protection to thieves, conniving at murder or levying fines upon their servants for a due execution of the government orders they rendered their jagir or inam liable to sequestration and they have been frequently warned of the folly of pursuing so unjust a system occasioning there by the loss of their rights and privileges, which would otherwise be respected and continued to them.'[117]

When dispute arose between the greater sardars, the matter was always referred to the Resident (in the beginning to Grant) who brought amicable adjustment or referred to Panchayat.[118]

Under Raja Shahaji the six jagirdars of Bhor, Phaltan, Aundh, Jath, Wai and Akalkot held their own courts. Against the decrees of these jagirdars an appeal lay to the Resident at the Raja's court, besides

these, sanads received from Raja Shahaji or former governments a number of smaller jagirdars and inamdars held petty tribunals, with powers to decide suits arising within the limits of a particular village group, town or quarter of town to which the grant referred.[119]

During the reign of Shahaji civil justice was administered with extreme leniency. The judicial courts were remodelled under the advice of Col. Ovans whose aim was to make all possible advance towards the system laid down in Regulation IV of 1827. But when compared with the system given in the regulation code, the Raja's system of administering justice differed in seven chief points.[120]

Criminal Justice

The criminal justice was regulated by custom founded on what was supposed to be the law.[121] The shastras were also provided as law books.[122] There were Shastries, who interpreted law and gave a decision with the help of various shastras.

During the time of the Peshwas, the criminal justice was administered and executed by various state officers like Mamlatdars, Sarsubhedars. Mamlatdar had the power of life and death punishment during the time of the Peshwas.[123] After 1818 the powers of Mamlatdars

became limited. Mamlatdar could fine not more than Rs. 2 and confine any person not more than 48 hours.[124] When a Mamlatdar considered, the parties deserved a severe punishment, he was to send them to the Raja.[125] As Patil, Mamlatdars, Sarsubhedars had limited powers, naturally all severe and important cases were made to the Huzur. The Raja tried to settle these cases with the help of the Huzur Adalat also known as a court of criminal justice. This court of criminal justice consisted of four members. A Shastri was also there who interpreted the law and gave a decision.[126]

The Raja's brother, Appa Sahib, was entrusted with 'the superintendence of the criminal court of justice ...'[127] The main crimes of that period were murder, housebreaking theft, robbery, assault, fraud, man-slaughter, concerned in an insurection, disobedience of orders, negligence of duty, stealing horses, bullocks, ornaments, grain etc.[128]

The occurrence of these crimes was very high. For example, in the year 1821 (between 1st January to 31st December) sixteen (16) murders were committed of these 10 were apprehended, 6 remaining to be apprehended. 9 house-breaking (Darodas) were committed from which Rs. 1817 were stolen. Out of 9 house-breakings only one was discovered from which amount of Rs. 30 was

recovered. In the same year 214 thefts were committed from which Rs. 12738-2-0 was stolen. Only 102 were discovered from which Rs. 4687-3-0 was recovered. 16 thefts were not discovered but their amount of Rs. 2539-3-0 were paid by the villagers. 96 thefts were remained to be traced.[129]

Punishments

Name	Nature of crime	Punishment inflicted
1. Jannak Mahar (Male)	Murder	14 years imprisonment with rigorous labour in iron (11th June 1819) 130
2. Haibati Subhanji Shindea (Male)	Murder	7 years imprisonment with rigorous labour in iron (31st May 1819) 131
3. Yami Kumbharin (Female)	Murder	'To be thrown into deep water with a stone round her neck' commuted by Raja Pratapsinha. 'Imprisonment for life in the fort of Parlee. 132
4. Sali Shedgi Kunbin(Female)	Murder	'To be exposed upon an ass and imprisonment for life in Wasantagad fort with an iron collar about her neck'. 133

Name	Nature of crime	Punishment inflicted
5. Subani Koshteen (Female)	Attempt to poisoned her husband	Seven years imprisonment in Parlee 134
6. Yeshak Pirnak Mang and Balnak Ranak Mang	Major theft	7 years imprisonment with hand labour in iron and to be paraded through the town (10th July 1820) 135
7. Ranoji Tukoji Patil	Bigger theft	'3 dozen Rattan (whips) & 18 months imprisonment with hard labour in iron'. 136
	Minor theft like receiving stolen goods, stealing bullocks, grain	3 to 12 months imprisonment was given and generally released on security. 137
8. Nimbaya Kundu Ramoshi, Appaya Dewaji Ramoshi	Gang robbery	2 dozen Rattans & 18 months imprisonment with hard labour in iron. 138
9. Vithoji Bapuji Patil	Gang robbery	6 dozen Rattans & to be twice exposed and 2 years imprisonment with hard labour in iron & to be released on security. 139

Name	Nature of crime	Punishment inflicted
10. Ganappa Bapu Omudin Wasi, Husain Khan Khedur Khan, Bakappa Wani	Assault	6 dozen Rattans exposure & 9 months imprisonment with hard labour in iron & released on security. 140
11. Keshav Samraj Bundsey	Committing a fraud	3 dozen Rattans & 3 years imprisonment with hard labour in iron. 141
12. Meer Khan	Man slaughter	4 years imprisonment with hard labour in iron. 142
13. Bulwantrao Augria (insargent)	Insurection	9 years imprisonment with hard labour in iron. 143
14. Chilloji Bahirji Chavan, Mallu Limbaj Bhug, Sulhanji Manoji Chiknee, Parling Butling Jangam	Insurection	6 dozen Rattans exposure upon an ass & 10 years imprisonment with hard labour in iron. 144
15. Bysoo Ranu Mang, Ramia Nimbaya Mang	Bund	To be sent upon to the road to work until Murary Ramoshi their leader is apprehended. 145

We can conclude in short that punishments awarded by any standard were not very severe. If a female committed a murder punishment for her was more rigorous than male. For committing a crime of house-breaking the punishment was from 18 months to 9 years

imprisonment with rigorous labour in iron.

In the beginning years the constant fear in the minds of both Elphinstone & Grant was of insurrection. Elphinstone advised Grant to suppress any such attempt with a firm hand.[146] Thus, we find insurgents were severely punished.

Adultery, rape were considered as very severe moral crimes. Because of the typical structure of the Indian society, caste also acted as a judicial unit. Every caste had its own customs, manners, rules and regulations. If a male/female infringed upon a custom of his/her own caste it was a caste who punished him/her by asking him/her to perform some prayaschitta (penances) or socially outcasting him/her. The caste had power to punish immoral acts.

If a complaint was made to the government, the government tried to settle it by calling a Panchayat known as '<u>Jati-Panchayat</u>'. In Jati-Panchayat each party was to bring a certain number of his own caste men to act as advocates and jury in his cause.[147]

Grant in his report to Chaplin dated 3rd April 1822, stated that in the year 1821, six caste disputes were made to the government of which 2 were from Pandharpur Peta, 1 from Bejapur, 1 from Targaon and 2 from Satara Peta.[148]

Sometimes the head or the most respectable

person of that caste or government assembled a panchayat.[149] Regarding these crimes 'the caste are said to be the best judges'.

Raja Pratapsinha was of the opinion that the cases relating to moral crimes, and relating to sutak (impurity arising through death) should refer to that particular caste.[150]

In case of adultery, Raja Pratapsinha agreed that aggrieved party should have right to kill the adulterer and adulteress.[151] As far as the state was concerned, the Raja preferred a deterrant punishment and imprisonment to pecuniary fine. The culprits were publicly exposed for humiliation and the man was to forfeit his property.[152]

For formication with a female named Kistnayi of high caste by Dhondea Dhewkoji of low caste were sentenced by Shastree as death for Dhondea Dhewkoji and for Kistnayi to have her breast and nose cut off and be released. But it was commuted by Raja Pratapsinha as for male one year imprisonment at Satara jail and for Kistnayi one year imprisonment in Parlee fort.[153] Beewea Ramjee and Subana Maleen were punished for living in a state of adultery to the exposure in the bazar and then to be released.[154] Sheewea Budnak Mahar had made rape on his daughter-in-law. For this crime, he was awarded a punishment of seven years imprisonment

with hard labour in iron.[155]

Religion, public opinion and influence of caste, no doubt, tried to keep down the vices.[156]

Police

Regarding the police, the only innovations introduced by the British in the existing form of the Maratha police were closer superintendence and the prohibition of the indefinite confinement of suspected persons by the Patils and Mamlatdars.[157]

The administration of justice in those days, was greatly an executive action. Prevention of crime was considered better than cure. 'The object of police is to prevent crimes that punishment may be unnecessary'.[158] Grant reestablished some previous police officers.[159]

Shete,Mahajan

Shete,Mahajan were reestablished by Grant. The main duty of Shete,Mahajan was to assist in regulating the bazar. The office of kotwal was also reestablished not in all petas, but only in three petas, named Satara, Pandharpur and Bijapur.[160]

Chowkees had been placed round the town according to the instructions of Elphinstone. There was a subedar placed in charge of the whole.

At Satara a gun was fired at ten O'clock at

night, and an hour before day light in the morning. In other respects the Poona system of taking round was adopted.[161]

Mamlatdars had charge of the police in their petas and have all the superintendence which Mamlatdars had had in the best times of the former government, but without the power of punishing beyond a fine of two rupees, or by confinement for two days. When further punishment was necessary the culprit was sent to Satara.

Each Mamlatdar had a body of shibandis at his command and some have parties of horse at their requisition, the shekdars had some of the shibandis with them in the different villages or kusbas or market towns and had instructions to afford every aid in their power in protecting the neighbouring villages or in apprehending criminals.[162]

The Patil was the head authority of his village. His immediate police assistants were the Chaugula, the Dher, the Mangs or the Ramoshis the whole of these were paid by the villagers, in land or money or in kind as they formed part of the village 'baluta' system. The value of the annual payment was to varied that the average ratio could not be stated.

The Chaugula was normally a maratha by caste whose duties were to assist the Patil in every way.

The Dher or Mahar had various important duties to perform. He was the scout, the guide, cleaner of travellers horses, carrier of their baggage to the next village and conveyer of government letters, parcels or even money with great care. The Dher was a village watchman and had always particular charge of village boundaries.

The services required from Mangs, Mahars and Ramoshis and the whole village establishment were known to every Patil. The patil assisted by his chaugula was to keep every one to his daily and night duty and the Kulkarni of the village was to read out the orders which were issued by the government.[163]

The old custom of making the village responsible for the robberies committed was revived.[164]

In addition to the vigilence, one Mhar of a small village, and two in the large villages were placed for taking the notice of passengers and strangers arriving at the village. They were to observe all persons narrowly and if there be the smallest reason to suspect them, they were to communicate their doubts to the Patil.

A night watch was kept by a group of five, ten, fifteen or twenty villagers, according to the size of the village under the instructions of the Muqadam of

the village. This duty was taken in rotation by the Marathas, Ramoshies, Mhars and Mangs. It was felt that "in case this order was properly attended to, it will generally prevent all attempt on the lives and properties of the inhabitants."[165] If any intelligence that might be gained of thieves, robbers, correct intelligence was to be sent to the adjoining villages that the news might spread over the whole country. Then a messenger was instantly dispatched from the Patil to the Mamlatdar and a written document was prepared by the Kulkarni and transmitted to the Mamlatdar as speedily as possible. It was the responsibility of the Kulkarni to write only facts and never to exaggerate.[166]

'When any robbery had been committed or traced within his (Patil's) boundary, he accompanied by the Ramoossees in the investigation and pursuit, until the traces had been carried into the precincts of an adjoining village, to the Patil, of which he delivered over the task of apprehending the thief and all responsibility on his part ceased but if he be unable to effect that, his village was held responsible for the loss which might be sustained. At the time of making the annual revenue settlement, before giving the Patils their puttees, when all were assembled for that purpose, the police, revenue and Panchayat regulations were read

and one day was always allotted to investigate the number of murders, gang-robberies and theft which were occurred during the past year. The whole of the Ramoossees were assembled and those in whose villages any of the above-mentioned crimes were committed and the perpetrators undiscovered, were called upon to state their reasons for not having apprehended them; if no reasonable excuse be advanced, they were placed in confinement until security was given for the discovery of the murderer or theft within a stated period'.[167]

The people in those days were allowed to keep arms and travel with them.[168] Five armed persons were allowed to pass, but when travelling in a party of more than 25, they were to obtain dustak (passport) from the government. But when armed people seemed suspicious it was left to the descretion of the Patil to stop even a smaller party than that of five men - should there be a considerable number of being able to secure them by the assistance of the united villagers, he would apply to the neighbouring villages for aid which they must not in such cases fail to afford. Persons apprehended were to be sent to the Mamlatdar for examination, who would forward them on, under an escort to Satara or liberate them as he seemed fit. The

Mamlatdar was always to attend to the requisition of Patil in affording them such assistance in his power.

<u>Procedure of Criminal Investigation</u>[169]

If a dead body was found by anybody, he directly goes to the Patil of that village and gave intelligence of the circumstances to him. The Patil then immediately dispatched the Chaugulla to the Mamlatdar of that peta and a Mhar to watch the dead body until a karkun might arrive information of this occurrence, having been given by the Chaugulla. Then the Patil that instant was set out for the spot immediately and ordered the Kulkarni to attend or to follow him. When the Mamlatdar got the information from the Chaugulla, a karkun was employed under him. The karkun was ordered instantly to set out for the spot and to investigate the matter in the fullest and most careful manner. The karkun sent forward the Chaugulla to assemble the Patils and principal people of the villages and to bring them to the spot where the body was said to be lying. Patil then examined a dead body in the presence of the karkun of Mamlatdar and principal people of villages. The Patil was to write every particular respecting it - the position and spot in which found, the appearance of the deceased and dry circumstance that appeared likely to

have occasioned his death. In case of murder the Patil was to note correctly the exact part of the body where the wound had made, its size, nature and by what instrument caused. In case of death by poison, strangulation and the like, when external marks of violence were less, minute enquiry was to be made by the Patil. In the case of women, falling or jumping into wells, tanks, most special care, attention and investigation were to take place. Upon investigation of its nature, the time, date, persons present, when found, persons present when examined were all to be most particularly attended by the Patil. But when the attendance of the Mamlatdar or his karkun could not be procurable in sufficient time, the verbal message and subsequent written reports were always speedily transmitted for the Mamlatdar's information. The Patils possessed no power of punishing criminals. It was their duty to pursue, apprehend and make over the culprit to superior authority, the Mamlatdar.[170]

The Patil's influence on police arrangements was as efficient as ever under the British and was directed towards the main object, the prevention of crime and not, as formerly towards his own emoluments or advantage.[171]

When the criminals such as murderers, thieves,

robberers and others were apprehended by the Mamlatdar they were closely examined and Mamlatdar took their declarations. But corporal punishment to extort confession was in no case to be resorted to.[172] After taking down the declaration of that criminal, under an escort, the prisoner was sent to Satara. First the prisoner was examined at Satara and if he denied, he was sent to the jail till the arrival of the witness present during the investigation by the Mamlatdar. When the witnesses arrived at Satara, their statements (depositions) were taken which was followed by the confession of the prisoner. If the prisoner found guilty, he was sentenced according to his crime.[173]

The same administration of criminal justice continued under Raja Shahaji. The Mamlatdar was in charge of a sub-division or peta superintended the collection of revenue and managed the police. Under Mamlatdar there was an officer called Shekdar, who was in charge of a thana of about seventeen villages. Subordinate to the Shekdar was the village headman or Patil. Under the Patil were his deputy or Chaugula and mahars and ramoshis. The Patil in his police duties was aided by Kulkarni. On receipt of a report from the Patil of a crime having been committed in a village, the Shekdar went to the spot, inspected

parties. When murder was suspected, the shekdar held an inquest on the corpse before allowing its obsequies to proceed. The Shekdar had no power of deciding cases or of inflicting fine. After making inquiries he sent a report to the Mamlatdar who referred it to the Huzur or headquarter office.[174]

During the Shahaji's period we find new officer called Faujdar Munim was appointed at the Huzur.[175] At the Huzur a police case sent for trial by the Mamlatdar was received by the faujdar munim, whose duty was to prepare it for final hearing and to call upon the Mamlatdar for any further evidence that he might consider necessary, or that might have been over looked by the Mamlatdar. The duties of the faujdar munim were very similar to those of a shirastedar. He reported on all petitions from complainants and on representations from the sub-divisional police on matters connected with his particular department, prepared cases for hearing, saw that the witnesses were in attendance and brought on the trial. The Raja was the sole judge of his own court. When sitting in judgement, he was attended by the chief officers of his court, and the procedure was similar to that of a magistrate's office under the British territory. It differed from that of a sessions court, where no evidence being taken

and recorded a new from the mouths of the witnesses. Under Shahaji, the chief features of criminal justice were that capital punishment, torture, mutilation, and such punishment as deprived the offender of his caste were avoided, where compensation was offered by the offender, punishment was much lessened, and corporal punishment and public disgrace were freely used. There was no written code of laws, and the only guides were equity, expediency, and the usage of the country and of the caste.[176]

In both Marathi and English documents references were often made about the jail at Satara. But it seems that there was no well-built jail at Satara under Pratapsinha. Satara fort was used as jail.[177] Raja Shahaji built a large building originally for a jail in Shaniwar Peth.[178]

Between 1818 to 1819 the total number of prisoners at Satara and at Parli and Wasantagad fort was 180,[179] while in 1827 it was 142.[180]

The percentage of female prisoners was very low than that of the male prisoners. They were mostly apprehended for the crime of murder. Between 1818 and 1822, 10 female were apprehended for the crime of murder.[181] The female prisoners were kept at Parli or Wasantagad fort.[182] The prisoners were utilised

for public work such as construction of roads, wells etc.[183]

According to John Briggs, the working hours of the prisoners should be from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. In rainy season one hour should be given off between morning and noon, and one hour between noon and evening. While in summer only one hour should be given off.[184]

Grant was strictly against for paying in cash to the prisoners. He thought that it would be always beneficial to provide them in kind.[185] But John Briggs thought they should be paid in cash.[186]

The prisoners were provided grains, dal, salt and chilli. For Brahmin prisoners, Brahmin cook was appointed while for other caste separate cooks were appointed. For each caste, vessel for drinking water was different from the other caste. For Brahmin prisoners wooden vessel was used while for other castes like mahar or muslim, vessel made of leather was used.[187]

In the beginning, decisions regarding the prisoners were made by Grant and his assistant Morris. On the 5th April 1822, the whole internal administration was handed over to Pratapsinha, and he started taking decisions.[188]

The judicial charges including the native establishment and expenses on account of feeding the prisoners did not exceed Rs. 520/- in a total disbursement of Rs. 34,163 in September 1819. In March 1820, the judicial charges rose to Rs. 1,149/- in a total disbursement of Rs. 73,009/-. In most of the cases, the prisoners were brought to Satara, for the expenses for feeding the prisoners at Satara exceed greatly those made by Mamlatdars at different places. The relative figures for the seven months beginning from September 1819 and ending at March 1820 are 200:30, 200:34, 300:36, 200:141, 244:35, 238:28, 268:40.[189]

Notes

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2. V. T. Gune, Judicial system of the Marathas, (Pune, 1953), p. 69.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, p. 45.
5. Ibid, p. 46.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid, p. 48.
8. Selections ... from the records of East India House, relating to ... Revenue, police, civil and criminal justice under company's Government in India, Vol. IV (London, 1820-26), p. 219.
9. V. T. Gune, op.cit., p. 46.
10. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818.
11. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa, (Bombay, 1872), p. 69.
12. Ibid, p. 77, See also Munro-ME, 12.5.1818 refer to in G. R. Gleig, The life of Major General Munro, Vol.3, pp. 252-53.
13. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 10.7.1818.

14. Ibid.

15. G. W. Forest (Ed.), Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone, (London, 1884), p. 359.

16. Ibid, pp. 366-368.

17. Ibid, Passim.

18. A. R. Kulkarni, James Cunningham Grant Duff, (Poona, 1971), p. 68.

19. Ibid, p. 65.

20. MSS EUR F. 88, Box 613, JG-ME, 17.7.1818.

21. Ibid.

22. Kenneth Ballhatchet, Social policy and social change in Western India, (London, 1957), p.107.

23. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, Report for the quarter ending 30.4.1820.

24. MSS EUR, F.88, Box 613, letter No. 28, dated 6.6.1818.

25. Ibid, letter No. 69, 8.9.1818.

26. Ibid, Box 613;8, No. 48.

27. Ibid.

28. DC-267, JG-WC, 28.5.1819, See also SRC 5/2:2, JG-ME, 28.5.1819.

29. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818.

30. MSS EUR F.88 Box 613, letter No.53, 30.7.1818.

31. Roj.3, 3.7.1820, p. 70.

32. Roj.1, 30.10.1818, p. 9.

33. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

34. A. R. Kulkarni, op.cit., p. 92.

35. Ibid, p. 93.

36. MSS EUR F.88, JG-ME, 24.4.1820.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Political Diaries, 489 (11), pp. 5392-5526, 5438.

40. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 237.

41. Ibid.

42. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.

43. A. R. Kulkarni, op.cit., p. 56.

44. Roj. 3, 2.5.1820, p. 5.

45. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820. Marathi orders are to be found in Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal's 'Tritiya Sammelan Vritta', Shake 1837. The name of the article is 'Maharashtratil Vyavahara Nirnay Padhhati' by B. W. Bhat. He had pointed out the year of the orders as 1836. It is very difficult to agree with him. Grant in his report to Chaplin stated the exact date of the issuing of those orders.

46. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1819.

47. Ibid, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

48. BISM-TSV, Shake 1837, order no.27, p. 55.

49. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884, p. 391.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

53. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

54. EIP, Vol. IV, 1826.

55. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

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57. Elphinstone, Report, p. 55.

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60. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

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62. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

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64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 10.7.1818.

67. Roj. 7, 9.1.1824, p. 68.

68. EIP,Vol. IV, Replies to the supplemental queries by W. R. Morris, ND.

69. Ibid, p. 682.

70. Roj. 7, 19.12.1823, p. 48.

71. Ibid.

72. EIP, Vol. IV, 1826.

73. DC-276, HA-JB, 30.7.1823.

74. DC-278.

75. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

76. DC-268, pp. 1-17.

77. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

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79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

82. R. D. Choksey, Raja Pratapsinha of Satara 1818-1839, (Poona, 1970), p.118.

83. Roj. 4, 8.8.1821, p. 339.

84. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 241.

85. EIP, Vol. IV, Replies to the supplemental queries by W. R. Morris, ND, p. 681.

86. Ibid.

87. SMD-pha, R.No. 131 , See also Roj. 5, 30.7.1822, p. 290, See also K. Daftar, R.No.14.

88. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

89. Roj. 5, 6.10.1821, 23.10.1821, p. 2 and 19.

90. SMD-pha., R.No. 131, See also K. Daftar, R.No.14.

91. Roj. 5, 23.10.1821, p. 19.

92. SMD-Pha., R.No. 131, See also Roj.2, 30.1.1820, p. 57, See also Roj. 5, 8.8.1822, p. 302.

93. Roj. 5, 24.10.1822, p. 339.

94. Roj. 5, 9.10.1822, p. 343.

95. Roj. 7, 12.4.1824, p. 125.

96. Roj. 4, 8.8.1821, p. 339, See also Roj. 2, 1.4.1820, p. 108.

97. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

98. "सदरहू चार असामी फडपोसीचे काम करून फिर्यादी व बंदिवान यांच्या जबान्या घेऊन बंदीवान याची चौकसी वगैर करितात व झाडेची बुके लिहितात."
SMD-Pha., R.No. 131, Paper 29.

99. R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 119.

100. Ibid.

101. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

102. SMD-Pha., R.No. 131, Paper No. 29, See also Roj. 4, 7.8.1821, p. 338.

103. Ibid.

104. SMD-Pha., R.No. 131.

105. K. Daftar, R. No. 14.

106. V. G. Bhide, Satarche Shrimant Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Yanche Waushacha va Pratinidhi ani Ashta Pradhanancha Itihas, (Bhor, 1866), p. 253.

107. DC-268, James Grant, Political Agent at Satara, 18.10.1818, pp. 1-17.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

113. R. D. Choksey, Raja Shahji of Satara 1839-1848, (Poona, 1974), pp. 123-124.

114. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 23.1.1821.

115. Ibid, Detail account of the orders is available.

116. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

117. EIP, Vol. IV, Replies to the supplemental queries by W. R. Morris, ND, p. 683.

118. Ibid, p. 684.

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120. Ibid, pp. 392-393.

121. EIP, Vol. IV, 1826.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 10.7.1818.

125. Ibid.

126. SRC 5/2:94, 29.4.1821.

127. Kenneth Ballhatchet, op.cit., p. 241.

128. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

129. Ibid.

130. SRC 5/2:95.

131. Ibid.

132. SRC 5/2:94, 7.5.1819, 17.10.1819.

133. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

134. SRC 5/2:94.

135. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

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137. SRC 5/2:94-95.

138. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

139. Ibid.

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141. Ibid.

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143. Ibid.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146. SRC 5/2:3, ME-JG, 8.4.1818.

147. R. D. Choksey, RPS, p. 119.

148. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

149. EIP, Vol. IV, 1826.

150. Roj. 5, 12.10.1821, p. 9, See also Roj. 5, 24.5.1821, p. 235.

151. DCIS, R.No. 55, File No. 4-4.

152. Ibid.

153. SRC 5/2:95, 16.5.1820.

154. SRC 5/2:9, 13.3.1821.

155. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

156. SRC 5/2:2, Report, 30.4.1819.

157. Elphinstone, Report, p. 47.

158. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

159. EIP, Vol. IV, 1826.

160. SMD-Pha., R.No. 131.

161. EIP, Vol. IV, 1826.

162. Ibid.

163. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

164. SRC 5/2:20, p. 105.

165. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

166. Ibid.

167. EIP, Vol. IV, Replies to the supplemental queries by W. R. Morris, ND, pp. 678-679.

168. MSS EUR F.88, Box 613, JG-ME, 18.4.1819.

169. DC-275, JB-Col. Clieland, 14.4.1822, See also SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

170. EIP, Vol. IV, Replies to the supplemental queries by W. R. Morris, ND, p. 680.

171. Ibid, p. 679.

172. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

173. DC-267, JG-ME, 24.2.1819.

174. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884, p. 393.

175. Ibid.

176. Ibid, p. 394.

177. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

178. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884, p. 568.

179. Ibid.

180. Roj. 10, 7.7.1827, p. 198.

181. SRC 5/2:94-95.

182. DC-275, JG-WC, 3.4.1822.

183. Roj. 6, 24.6.1823, p. 156.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid.

187. Roj. 4, 11.9.1821, p. 395.

188. Roj. 5, 9.4.1822, p. 190.

189. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 30.9.1819.

Historical Background

The west deccan region was controlled by successive Hindu dynasties from the sixth to the thirteenth century. It is probable that the early and western Chalukyas held the Satara district from about 550 to 760; the Rashtrakutas to 773; the western Chalukyas and under them to about 1180 by the Kolhapur Shilaharas (1050 to 1220); and the Devgiri Yadavas till the Muslim conquest of the deccan about 1300.* Under the Bahamani, Satara formed part of the provinces of Gulbarga as far west as Dabhol and south as far as Raichur and Mudgal in the Nizam's territory. After the split of Bahamani kingdom, Satara had been remained, for nearly three centuries (1358 to 1673) under the dominion of the Bijapur kings. The principal Maratha chiefs in Satara territory under the Bijapur Government were Chandrarao More of Jawli, Rao Naik Nimbalkar of Phaltan,Daphale of Jath, Mane of Mhaswad; Chandrarao More was in possession of the Ghat Matha from the Krishna to the Varna. Shivaji succeeded in taking

the possessions of Chandrarao More, by murdering him in 1656. In 1673 he captured the Satara fort after a long seige. During Shivaji's regime, in consequence of its strong fortress and strategical situation, as well as the proximity to Parali hill, the seat of his religious preceptor Ramdas Swami, Satara became for sometime his favourite place of residence. During the Mughal-Maratha conflict, under Rajaram, Satara became the capital of the Maratha Government. Aurangzeb made strenuous attempts to capture the fort, and succeeded but for a short time only, as the place was retaken by the Marathas under Parshuram Trimbak Pratinidhi in 1706. Since then till 1848 it remained in the undisputed possession of the descendants of Shivaji.

Satara attained its greatest expansion and prosperity during the reign of Shahu I (1708-1749). He added much to the appearance of the town by means of various new buildings and by the construction of new roads, and it was owing to this fact that Satara was in later times called Shahu-Nagar, the city of Shahu, by which name the capital is referred to in the old Maratha historical records. The old Rang-mahal, was the royal residence of Shahu. This building, as well as the Adalat-wada and the wadas or

houses of the various principal Sardars and officers were built in Shahu's time, on the slope of the hill popularly known as Machi.

In 1750s French missionary Tieflenthaler describes Satara as a great city, the capital of the Maratha chief.[1]

After the death of Shahu I in 1749, the Peshwa became the <u>de facto</u> ruler of the Maratha Empire and the Chhatrapati became the nominal head. Satara which was the main stream of political activities from 1690 to 1749, lost its importance. The centre of political activity was shifted to Poona and Satara remained only the residence of Chhatrapati. Under the Peshwas, the Raja's of Satara were for the most part political prisoners in the fort, and a considerable portion of the population lived there in attendance. For half a century, the growth of Satara was interrupted. On the other hand, Poona started growing rapidly.

Economic function remained subsidiary in Satara throughout the pre-British period.

In 1818, when the two major political powers confronted each other, the British defeated the Peshwas and occupied large Peshwa dominions. Consequently, the political as well as the urban map of the region was altered.

In 1818, when the British created the Satara

State and installed Raja Pratapsinha on it, the Satara city began to grow and expand again in its dimensions.

The years 1818-1848 are known in the History of Urbanization of Satara as the period of transition. What Raja Pratapsinha trying to do was that to transfer Satara from traditional administrative centre to pre-modern urban centre.

Pratapsinha took deep interest in the promotion of the growth of Satara. He encouraged new settlements in Satara.[2] From this point of view he allotted plots to the settlers for the construction of houses.[3] Raja Pratapsinha tried to develop the Satara city as a centre of manufacturing certain goods and commodities. He was of the opinion that the manufacturers of various kinds should come and settle down at Satara and start their manufacturing there. Raja Pratapsinha was ready to provide them all sorts of help and concessions. For example he issued a written proclamation on the 10th May 1833.[4] It was stated in it, that Paithani types of silk cloth, Narayanpeth sarees, maslin and cotton of Ahmedabad, carpets of Burhanpur were not manufactured at Satara. If the manufacturers of these kinds were ready to manufacture these things at Satara, the money would be provided to them for Bhandwal (capital) and Tagai (advance). The concessions in Zakat and other

matters were also declared in this proclamation. Raja Pratapsinha was of the opinion that if they started manufacturing these things at Satara, the city would flourish in few days.[5]

Due to the policy of encouragement to different types of manufacturers and to trade and commerce, new manufacturings were started at Satara. Naturally the artizans connecting that items, started coming and settling down at Satara. Thus these two things accelerate the process of urbanization of the city.

Pratapsinha founded five new peths in Satara, which no doubt helped immensely in its expansion and urbanization.

In short Pratapsinha's encouragement to new inhabitation, migration, foundation of new peths and construction of various new roads helped Satara in becoming premodern urban centre.

Growth and Expansion

Satara City which is situated at the base of the fort, is bounded on the north by Poona Satara Road, on the west by Yavteshwar hill, on the south by fort, and on the east by an off shoot of the fort hill. Satara was first formally divided into seven divisions which are supposed to date from the reign of Shahu I, who is reputed to have done much for the

improvement of the town. The names were Raviwar, Somwar, Mangalwar, Budhwar, Guruwar, Shukrawar and Shaniwar. There was also an independent division known as the Machi close under the fort. The western and southern divisions, that is the Machi and the Mangalwar and Shukrawar Peths are the oldest parts of the town proper. Of the eight original divisions or peths, Raviwar Peth was the most easterly and was almost square running through the whole length of the town. Next on its western side came a narrow strip, the Guruwar, then another narrow strip divided into two parts, that is the Budhwar or northern and the Shaniwar or southern. West of the Budhwar division lay the Shukrawar division of irregular shape and west of the Shaniwar the Somwar division, another strip, and beyond it again, the Mangalwar division of irregular shape. To the south of the Mangalwar, Somwar and Shaniwar divisions was the Machi.

Pratapsinha in his regime founded the following five Peths in Satara. They are Bhavani (in 1822), Sadashiv (in 1822), Durga (in 1830), Malhar (in 1830), and Pratapganj (in 1834).

In Satara, under Pratapsinha, if a new peth was to be established, the peth watandars,[6] particularly, Shete, Mahajan were ordered by the government

for establishing a new peth, or sometimes the Shete, Mahajan made an appeal to the government, and obtained the Raja's permission to settle a particular area, outside the earlier administrative limits of the town. The government adopted special measures for promoting the settlement of the new area such as tax exemption for a specific number of years (usually seven), and grants of plots of land or houses, free of rent during the period of exemption.

Availability of water was always taken into consideration while establishing a new peth. Once the area of a peth was fixed, the chavdi was set up. It was an office of the Shete, Mahajan. If a dispute arose between merchants or traders, the appeal was made in the chavdi.

Gradually, the peths grew to be fairly self-sufficient. Often a peth was a small town in miniature, contained one predominant temple, in addition to several others. Over the years, each peth acquired distinct ethnic and occupational characteristics, which sometimes persisted for long periods.

Bhavani Peth - It was established in 1822. We get a reference in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha, that Pratapsinha told Grant that Bhavani Peth should be established. Grant agreed with the Raja but added that a written proclamation should be issued, which

would induce the traders and merchants to settle in new Peth and carry on their commercial activities.[7] A draft of the proclamation was prepared by Balwantrao Chitnis under the direction of Grant which was soon issued.[8] The proclamation included in detail the period of exemption, boundaries, the concessions to merchants, traders and new settlers.[9] The Bhavani Peth was located near the palace. The neighbouring peths of it were Shaniwar and Somwar.[10]

The traders, merchants and new residents were granted a Kaul[11] of ten years,[12] i.e. between 1821 to 1831. It was stated in the proclamation that the families, which would come in the new peth from the territories outside the Satara State and undertake business activities, they would be exempted in Muhtarafa,[13] Phala Baithak,[14] Seo Sabji,[15] Zakat,[16] Chavdi Pavseri,[17] Batik badada[18] and in Huq-Haqdari[19] for ten years.

The traders of the Satara City or the Satara State were granted ten years remission in Muhtarafa, Phala-Baithak, Seo Sabji and Zakat.[20]

For the new settlers the remission of ten years in Ghar-jama[21] was granted.[22]

It was decided that on Friday a market would be held in the new peth.

The merchants who would bring clothes and commodities for sell in new peth on any day or on the particular day of market, they would not be required to pay the Zakat, Phala-Baithak, Chapa,[23] Chavdi Pavseri, Seo Sabji and Huq-Haqdari for ten years.[24]

For constructing shops Tagai of Rs. 75 per Khan and per storey was granted by the government and for double storey, it was from Rs. 100 to 150.[25]

Bhavani Peth had an area of thirty four acres and it was populated mostly by the traders and shop-keepers. The water supply for that peth was from nineteen wells, two reservoirs and one fountain.[26]

If a dispute arose between merchants or traders the appeal was made in Chavdi to Shete,Mahajan. The Shete, Mahajan were usually called upon by the merchants and trades people to settle their disputes. In case the affair in dispute was of small value and the Shete with the assistance of neighbours could not effect an amicable arrangement, a panchayat was assembled by the Shete and no papers were required except the Razinama and Saraoush. The members of the peth panchayat were generally the people from market place. When the value of the matter in dispute was considerable, the Shete had no authority to assemble a panchayat. The merchants or trades people could appeal to mamlatdar in 'Peta' panchayat or to 'Huzur'.

Bhavani Peth was the busiest of all the peths of Satara.[27]

Sadashiv Peth - It is difficult to pinpoint the foundation year of the Sadashiv Peth. We do find parallel references to both these two peths i.e. Bhavani and Sadashiv. So we may say that the process of the formation of these two peths was simultaneously going on.

A letter is available of Raja Pratapsinha written to the mamlatdar of Satara, named Viththal Gopal relating to issuing of Tagai to traders and merchants of Sadashiv Peth[28] in which it was mentioned that Rs. 5,000 of tagai be granted to the traders and merchants of this peth.

Sadashiv Peth had an area of ten acres. It was populated mostly by Brahmins and Muslims. The water supply for this peth was from fourteen wells and a reservoir.[29]

Durga Peth - It was founded in 1830.

The proclamation issued in 1830 stated the period of exemption in various taxes and house rent, boundaries, and the concessions to merchants, traders and new settlers.[30]

It was located south-north of the road to the east of the royal palace.[31]

The government had granted a kaul of seven years to the traders and merchants.[32]

It was stated in the proclamation that the traders and merchants who would come in the new peth from outside the Satara City and undertake business activities would not require to pay Ubha-Marg,[33] Thal mod,[34] Bazar Baithak[35] and Fasakee[36] for seven years.

It was decided that on Wednesday the market would be held in the new peth.

If Bichchaiti Udamies,[37] carried goods to this peth on the day when the market was held they were not required to pay Ubha Marg, Thal mod, Thal Bharit,[38] Baithak and Phaskee for seven years, but if some commodities remained unsold on the following day of a market, they were required to pay the above-mentioned items.[39]

If the merchants of the other peths of the Satara City went for selling in the new peth on the day of market they were required to pay Baithak Uphala[40] and Faskee for seven years.

Durga Peth was the most thickly populated in the town. It had an area of two acres.[41]

During the period of Raja Shahaji it was populated mostly by the mangs of his artillery.

Malhar Peth - It was established in 1830.

The proclamation issued in 1830, included the period of exemption in various taxes, boundaries and

the concessions to the merchants and traders.[42]

It is situated north-south on the road running through Guruwar Peth towards east, at a place near jail.[43]

A kaul of seven years was granted by the government to the traders and merchants.[44]

It was stated in the proclamation that the traders and merchants outside the Satara City, who would construct shops in new peth and who would bring commodities from outside, for selling there, were exempted from Ubha Marg, Thal mod, Bazar Baithak and Faskee for seven years.[45]

It was decided that on Sunday, the market would be held in this new peth.

If the merchants of the other peths of the Satara City, went for selling their commodities to this peth, on the particular day of the market, they were not required to pay Thal mod and Baithak, but if some commodities remained unselled on the following day of a market, they were required to pay the abovementioned items.[46]

The Malhar Peth had an area of ten acres and populated mostly by oil-pressers or Telis. The water supply for this peth was from four wells, one tank and two cisterns.[47]

Pratapganj Peth - It was established in 1833-34. Here an initiative was taken by traders and merchants particularly the marvadis a business community. They appealed to the government, and obtained the Raja's permission for settling a particular area.[48]

These marvadis made number of appeals to the Raja for concessions in Zakat, Chhapa and other taxes for eleven years.[49] In one appeal we find a detail account about the place of new peth, the period of exemption etc.[50]

The area of a new peth was decided in the beginning on the north side of the Sadashiv Peth by the marvadis. But the government did not agree with it because of heavy expenditure on its establishment. The marvadis gave assurance to the government that except the construction of road they would bear all the expenditure. Thus, the same place was decided for the new peth.[51]

It was decided that the expenditure like constructing bridges on nalas, and other expenses would bear by establishing new watandars in peth. These watandars would provide some money for founding the new peth.[52]

These marvadis also requested to the government for Tagai, on which the Raja answered that they would be provided advances when the government would

get back their money which they had advanced to the merchants of Bhavani Peth. It is difficult to say how much amount of Tagai was granted to them. But we can say that Tagai was granted to them and it was decided that they should return the money to the government within fifteen years.[53] The government exempted them in Zakat and Chhapa for fifteen years.

The government also granted exemption in Fala-Baithak for twentyfive years.

The other factor which helped immensely in the urbanization of Satara, was the construction of various roads.

It was James Grant who took initiative and provided direction for constructing new roads. It is noted in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha on the 26th September, 1822 that Grant told the Raja to construct roads from Satara to Pandharpur, Satara to Karad and Satara to Chiplun.[54]

Under the direction of James Grant, many new roads were constructed in Satara. John Briggs, who succeeded Grant appreciated the work done by Grant. It is noted in Rojnishi (29th March 1823) 'Col. Briggs in his interview with the Raja, told him that the roads of Satara were very fine. He did not find such fine roads even in the Company's territory also, on

which the Raja answered that it was James Grant, who constructed those roads.'[55]

But the work of constructing new roads, got a solid form under Col. John Briggs who connected Satara with the other parts of the country by roads.

In the beginning, Narayan Mestri was assigned the work of road construction. But due to his unsatisfactory performance, Raja Pratapsinha appointed Smith, an Englishman on that work.[56]

A great number of poor people from the hills and khoras in the neighbourhood were employed on the construction of roads.[57] The prisoners were also made engaged in this work.

Broad roads running from south to north and east to west were constructed by the Raja, as the principal thorough fares. Elphinstone had highly praised the roads of Satara.

The most important road was the palace street. The Raja built this street opposite of his palace of nearly 1/4 in mile in length and sixty feet in width.[58] The construction cost of that road was Rs. ten thousand seven hundred sixty, six annas and two paise.[59] On both sides of the road, space was provided for shops, which kept the street quite busy all the day.

Raja Pratapsinha was very strict about the maintenance and cleanliness of the roads which were

newly constructed in the city. We come across a reference to the *Ker-patti* in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha. He started levying Ker-patti first in Wai and Pandharpur petas and then applied it in other places.[60] It is noted in the Raja's Rojnishi that the Raja gave suggestions from time to time to the people in Satara about the maintenance and cleanliness of the roads in Satara. But the people did not change their way of life. As a result, he started levying the *ker-patti* from the house owners for their failure to maintain the portion of the roads in front of their houses cleaned.[61] The ker-patti was levyed from Rs. 1 to 5. per annum.[62]

One important civic problem accompanied the expansion was the water supply. Raja and later on his brother Shahaji paid attention to it and made efforts to solve it. It was during summer, the scarcity of water was felt by the people. To overcome this problem, tanks were built, old tanks were repaired and cleaned. This certainly helped to solve the problem of shortage of water supply in the city. In this respect, it may be argued that the Raja must have carefully studied the efforts made by the Peshwas in the City of Pune.

He built a tank at the Yavteshwar hill. He also built an acqueduct to bring water to the town of

Satara by Yavteshwar. We come across many references about 'Yavteshwar and its pipeline' in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha. It is noted on 30th June, 1819, that the Raja personally went at Yavteshwar and examined its pipeline.[63] It is stated at one place in the Rojnishi that the pipeline would cost about Rs. 50,000.[64] For every year the government removed the garbage from these pipelines and cleaned them, which cost the government about sixteen rupees, eight annas and five paise.[65]

Like Yavteshwar, Raja Pratapsinha built another tank at Mahardara, from which water was brought to the city through pipelines. The construction cost of the Mahardara tank was about one lakh of rupees.[66]

The work of acqueduct, which was remained incomplete by Raja Pratapsinha was completed by his brother Raja Shahaji, who successed after him. He spent Rs. 1,62,865 for completing the acqueduct from Yavteshwar and making a cistern in the Guruwar Peth.[67]

Pratapsinha constructed public tank (Haud) in Budhwar Peth.[68] He also constructed Panchapala Haud, Guruwar Haud and Chhatricha Haud.

Raja Shahaji also built tanks in the city near the Faraskhana and near the bridge on the way to the Jalmandir, which cost the government about Rs.10,000.[70]

Pratapsinha ordered to clean the tank of

Mangalwar Peth. This work was assigned to Bapujee Parshuram Ghodke on contract basis, the estimate of which was about Rs. 4,900.[71]

Availability of water was always taken into consideration, when a new peth was to be established. It was the government, who built wells in a new peth. For example, when Pratapganj Peth was founded, Raja Pratapsinha gave assurance of constructing well in that peth.[72]

Medical Care

Urbanization brings in its train many problems. One of such problems was of public health. The Raja did not ignore it.

We come across few references in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha to various medicines which were purely Indian originated. In those days, vaccination for cholera, small pox was carried under the supervision of a residency civil surgeon. It is noted in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha that under the supervision of civil surgeon, the work of vaccination was carried on by few vaccinators. Under the regime of Shahaji, it is noted in a Marathi document that from 20th April 1840 to 27th April 1840 sixtyone men received the vaccination.[73]

Under Raja Pratapsinha, no medical facilities

were provided except a sanitorium at Mahabaleshwar. On 9th December 1839 the Resident reported Raja Shahaji's anxiety to found a hospital 'for the benefit of his poor subjects'.[74]

It was Raja Shahaji who established the civil hospital at Satara in 1840, for the benefit of the common people. A new separate building for a hospital was constructed which cost the Raja about Rs.6,000/-.[75] Dr. Erskine was appointed as civil surgeon. He took great pains in administering medicines and managed the hospital satisfactorily.[76]

The diseases incidental to natives were fevers, cholera, rheumatism,[77] etc.

Fever was the most common ailment that was prevalent in the city.. Next to fever was contiguous. They constituted about one-tenth of the diseases treated, but consisted in great proportion of various forms and combinations of pustular and hepatic eruption. Scald-head was a very common disease with children and often proved very intractable. Tubercular leprosy was tolerably common, but cases of that disease were treated as out patients, and were not received into the Satara civil hospital. Of the febrile eruption, small pox, chicken pox were the only two that we find.

The epidemic of cholera prevailed in the Satara

territory between 1844-46, which continued for over a month. It was very fatal in the town and surrounding villages in the month of July 1844, again in the latter half of May, and throughout the month of June and July of 1845. When it was computed that about 1,000 fatal cases occurred in the town alone, and in March 1846, in which month it was particularly fatal at Karad, Jath, Bijapur and Pandharpur, and in a less degree at Satara.

As regards the medical treatment whatever medicine was given for the relief of vomiting and purging (including the use of opium) was administered in the form of pills, while the remedies used for the constitutional collapse was in a fluid form.

Raja Pratapsinha and Raja Shahaji, made efforts to make Satara a beautiful city by constructing new buildings, roads, gardens, etc.

Raja Pratapsinha built his palace in 1824. Grant wrote to William Chaplin, "I have made our two lakhs of rupees for the purpose of building His Highness's palace which is now in progress".[78] At one place in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha, it is noted that Pratapsinha assured Grant that construction of the palace would be within two lakhs of rupees.[79] It is noted in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha that he started living in the palace from 26th July 1822.[80]

Raja Pratapsinha had collected various types of pictures, sketches and paintings. They were relating to various ragas, horses, and saints. He had also collected pictures of various other contemporary rulers like Nawab of Trichanapalli, Raja of Mysore, etc. He decorated his palace with 113 different paintings of ragas depicting of Indian classical and music, with 14 pictures of horses and 15 pictures of gods and saints.[81] His palace walls were also covered with portraits of his ancestors like Sambhaji, Rajaram Maharaj, Shahu I, Rajaram Maharaj Karvirkar, Bhausaheb Maharaja, Phatesinh Bhosale, etc.[82]

The palace built by Raja Pratapsinha is now known as the old palace. It is situated in Bhavani Peth. The palace which is a good specimen of native architecture, is a four-cornered block of buildings, occupying several acres of ground and the large open space in front. Its right wing contains a large cistern for the use of the inmates of the palace. The front hall has two balconies on either side of the gateway from which the chiefs and the royal family used to watch the sports in the large open space below.

Raja Pratapsinha built Jalmandir or water pavilion in 1826. It is a plain one-storeyed building and had one room of which the walls and ceilings were covered with looking glass. The pavilion is surrounded

by a number of fountains on all sides and was used in the time of the Raja as a pleasure resort during the hot season.

Raja Shahaji, who built the other palace in 1845, now known as the new palace was an improvement upon the old one. Rs. 5,46,753 were spent by Raja Shahaji in building for the use of the durbar including both a palace for his residence and public offices.[83]

The most distinguishing feature of the building is its solid structure. A gateway leads into a courtyard surrounded by a broad colonnade. The walls are covered with paintings of mythological subjects and hunting scenes. The audience hall at the upper end on the western side of the courtyard dedicated to Bhavani was built by Shahaji in 1844. The hall is eightythree feet long, fortyfive broad and twentyfive high. The roof is supported on two parallel longitudinal rows of teak beams, sixteen in each row with horse-shoe arches between the pillars. The hall is surrounded on three sides by rows of fountains, which when in play, throw up jets of water nearly twentyfive feet high.[84]

Raja Shahaji in his regime, also built water pavilion,[85] a short distance from the old. Now it is known as the new Jalmandir. It has a large and beautiful garden divided into two parts, the upper or western and the lower or eastern. The upper part contains the

water pavilion, which is two-storeyed and built on a pavement in the centre of a small tank. It has also a mirror room of two apartments, one containing pictures of native and Anglo-Indian celebrities by native artists. The walls and ceiling of the other are completely covered with mirrors. The lower or eastern portion of the garden contains a pleasure house. Besides these Raja Pratapsinha built Adalat-wada. He spent forty thousand rupees for building of Pharaskhana. He also built Daftarkhana, Khas paga, etc. There were eighteenth departments of administration, each having a separate building.

He also spent much money in repairing old temples and constructing new ones. He repaired the Mangalai temple, at Satara fort at the cost of about Rs. 5,000/-. He spent Rs. 40,000/- for the construction of temple at Pratapgad. He spent Rs. 20,000/- for building a temple of Ramdas Swami at Sajjangad.[86] Raja Shahaji also built new temples in the city, which cost Rs. 5,661 to him.[87]

When Pratapganj and Bhavani Peths were established, Raja Pratapsinha built bridges over the nalas. Raja Shahaji also built new bridges in the city. They are (i) on going to the palace to the Jalamandir, (ii) over the nala near the Dowlka wada, (iii) over the

nala on the road leading from Budhwar Peth to Mahabaleshwar. He spent Rs. 3,750 for these bridges.[88] He spent Rs. 1,93,977 for the construction of two bridges over the Krishna and Yenna rivers on the Poona roads with approaches.[89] He spent Rs. 9,000/- for erecting bungalows on the road from Poona to Belgaon via Tadgaon for the accommodation of European travellers.[90]

He spent Rs. 11,690 for completing the road to Mahabaleshwar and the Neera bridge.[91]

A new road up the ghat from Satara to Mahabaleshwar and a new road from the embankment from Mahabaleshwar to Makolm peth were constructed by him. He also completed the high road from Satara to Poona.[92]

Mahabaleshwar[93]

Raja Pratapsinha was mainly instrumental in bringing about the establishment of Mahabaleshwar, as a popular hill station.

On 10th May 1825, John Briggs visisted to these hills and noted with care all the prospective advantages of Mahabaleshwar, if it were made a sanitorium, for the Bombay Presidency. On his coming back to Satara, he tried to impress on the mind of the Raja and induced him to make a good road to Mahabaleshwar as it was essential for communication. On the

Resident's suggestions the Raja promised him co-operation and help. It is noted in the Raja's Rojnishi on the 22nd August 1825 - "Colonel Briggs in his interview with His Highness recommended him to repair par ghaut and make a road from Satara via Medha and Radtondi Ghaut upto Mahad, and keep a ferry boat on the river Yenna, to which His Highness agreed, and said that it would make the country prosperous and increase the trade."[94] After the rains were over, the Raja commenced the work of constructing a new road to Pratapgad from Satara via Medha and Kelghar, but no appreciable progress was made till the summer of 1826. Briggs accompanied the Raja to Mahabaleshwar in April 1826 and personally undertook to supervise the work of construction. In the Rojnishi, we find it stated that on the 21st April, the Raja supplied Colonel Briggs 800 coolies and (the wages being Rs. 4 a month) and Rs. 15,000/- for the expenses of improving the Par Ghaut alone.[95] In another place in the same Rojnishi, it is mentioned that the Colonel proposed to the Raja to spend Rs. 5,000/- in constructing a dam on the River Yenna at Mahabaleshwar. From these references it is evident that Col. Briggs and the Raja worked hand in hand for the development of this place.

The most noteworthy event in the annals of Mahabaleshwar was the first visit of Sir John Malcolm,

the Governor of Bombay in May 1828. Sir John Malcolm succeeded Elphinstone on the 1st November 1827. Raja cordially invited him to Mahabaleshwar. It is noted in the Rojnishi that "he (the Resident) had an interview with His Excellency the Governor on 22nd December 1827 in which the latter made enquiries about the climate of Mahabaleshwar and expressed a wish to visit the place and also see the Raja. The Raja was extremely pleased to learn of it."[96]

The first visit of the Governor gave much impetus to the scheme and produced good results in a short time. On his return from Mahabaleshwar, John Malcolm selected Dr. Bird, Residency surgeon at Satara, to ascertain the nature of the climate of the Mahabaleshwar hills. Dr. Bird, suggested the appointment of a committee of medical experts at Mahabaleshwar. It was approved by government and surgeon James Walker was appointed to the medical charge of the hospital at Mahabaleshwar, which was established there in October, 1828, with a view to observe the effects of the climate on the invalid patients.

Malcolm, at the request of the Raja, paid a visit to Satara in November, 1828. The Raja had made elaborate preparations for the reception of His Excellency. The impressions made on the Governor by

the enthusiastic and cordial reception at Satara, were most favourable. The Raja, in appreciation of the keen personal interest exhibited by the Governor in the establishment of the Mahabaleshwar sanitorium, agreed to found a peth in Mahabaleshwar; and accordingly, on the 23rd December 1828 he forwarded a Yadi with his cousin Shrimant Balwantrao Senapati, to the Resident, Col. Robertson, giving his consent to the proposed establishment of a peth at Mahabaleshwar. The Governor expressed his wish to call the new peth after the name of the Raja, in recognition of his valuable services in that cause, but the Raja was most unwilling to accept the honour, as he thought it fit to call the new place after the name of Sir John Malcolm in memory of his visit to Satara as a token of his sincere regard and friendship. The Raja therefore immediately issued the following proclamation announcing the foundation of Malcolm Peth and inviting traders and merchants to open their shops there.[97]

"Be it known to all the subjects of His Highness Shrimant Maharaj Rajeshri Chhatrapati. There is near Jaoli a mountain on the east of which is the Tai Ghat; on the west near Pratapgad is the Radtondi Ghat, and Coorlsy Ghat, in the south on the north and in one corner of this mountain is Mahabaleshwar and the source

of the holy Krishna. On the summit near this place is a spot, called Nahar (or wilderness), the air of which is remarkably brancing during the hot weather, in consequence of which His Excellency Sir John Malcolm and English gentlemen have built there houses for themselves and barracks for the soldiers. We likewise intend building on that spot. In order that all necessaries may be at hand, traders should settle on this mountain and from a pettah there, which certainly will flourish, as trade will be drawn into this channel in consequence of a road which it is our desire to make over the Paur Ghat. Herethen, there shall be a Pettah, and it shall be called 'Malcolm Peith', and it shall be protected and shall flourish".[98]

It was in the summer of 1829 that Mahabaleshwar was officially declared to be a sanitorium and the Governor John Malcolm made his own residence there and enjoyed the hot season on the hills. The Raja had come with a large retinue and encamped on his own ground of Raj-mal, where he had built a large and commodious bungalow for himself. The Raja paid his visit to the Governor and received him at his bungalow with great pomp. The friendly intercourse between the Governor and the Raja promoted mutual goodwill, confidence and respect, which led to the happy result of firmly establishing the new sanitorium on these hills,

by the exchange of the selected lands with the adjacent villages of par ghat, to the British Government : for the village of Khandala near Wai. It is noted in the Rojnishi that, "on the 15th of May 1829, the Raja finally resolved to cede to the British Government the site of Mahabaleshwar selected by Sir John Malcolm and accordingly engaged (kept) his word. His Excellency the Governor was exceedingly pleased and said that this act of liberality on the part of the Raja would carry his fame to England and make the friendship stronger than before between the two governments".[99] The treaty for this territorial exchange was signed by the Raja on the 16th May 1829 at Mahabaleshwar. The treaty is consisted of five articles.[100]

On the 1st June 1830, the Raja wrote from Malcolm Peth to his friend Cap. Grant Duff - "Sir John Malcolm, the Governor has rapidly improved Malcolm Peth and brought it to a flourishing state".[101] The Raja who contributed immensely to the establishment of this hill station, continued his interest in it till 1837. It appears from his Rojnishi that he did not fail to pay his visits to the hills in the hot season almost every year. It was his intention to build a large lake on the hills for the public use, and got its estimate prepared by his own engineer Ranoji Naik, but he could not spare a large sum of

money as the project was too costly. It is mentioned in his Rojnishi that, "on the 23rd May 1836, Lt. Col. Lodwick estimated the cost upto Rs. 10,000/-, but the Raja said that it would not suffice even to make a mud wall. He therefore proposed that he would pay the sum in cash and the lake may be built by him (the Resident). The delay in this matter was due to other demands on the Raja's purse, chiefly the marriage of his brother, which cost him Rs. 40,000/-.[102]

In the mid of 1837, the Raja, when saw that the wind was blowing against him, in a fit of despair, ordered his bungalow to be demolished. It is noted in his Rojnishi that, "on the 30th April 1837, he made up his mind to demolish the bungalow at Mahabaleshwar as his relations with the British Government were far from satisfactory. The Resident Col. Lodwick, and another military officer, Col. Blake, advised him not to do so." But the Raja said, "when there will be Safi (restoration of friendly relations between the two governments) a new bungalow can be erected in no time".[103]

At the time of installation of Shahaji in 1839 the Governor James Carnac had put forth the claims of Mahabaleshwar on the benevolence of the new Raja of Satara, while suggesting to him several works of general improvement and utility.

The Raja accepted the suggestion most willingly and undertook to build a tank at Mahabaleshwar. Smith, Civil Engineer, in the service of the Raja Shahaji was entrusted with the construction of the new lake which was completed in 1842.[104]

Notes

1. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Satara, Vol. XIX, 1884, p. 578.
2. Roj. 1, 15.6.1819, p. 92.
3. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
4. Ibid, R.No. 145.
5. Ibid, 10.5.1833.
6. They are Shete, Mahajan, Mushrif, Chaudhari, Kotwal, Pansare, Avti, Dange, Patki, Potdar, etc.
7. Roj. 5, 22.8.1822, p. 311.
8. Ibid.
9. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
10. Ibid.
11. The term is used in various deeds granted by superiors to inferiors, in which the engagement implies an act of grace or favour.
12. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
13. A tax or taxes levied on trades and professions, on artificers of a village or their implements as upon the weaver's loom upon tradesmen and their shops and stalls, and some times upon houses.
14. Camp for collecting land revenue(?).

15. Tax in kind on vegetables, levied on those brought to market.
16. Octroi.
17. Hak of patil - the head of the chavadi to get a garment.
18. A tax on menial servant.
19. Holding any right or privilege, the right of claim, privilege or property.
20. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
21. House tax.
22. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
23. A levy on cloth.
24. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
25. Ibid, paper No. 5.
26. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.XIX, Satara, 1885, p. 558.
27. Ibid.
28. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136, paper No. 48.
29. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, XIX, Satara, 1885, p. 558.
30. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. A highway, a direct, open, public road.
34. Export.

35. A fee or tax for setting up a shop or stall, or for trading at a bazar.

36. A handful of grain exacted from each load of grain, a toll exacted by official personages from the vendors.

37. A petty dealer who does not keep a shop, but carries his goods to a fair or market, or exhibits them in a street, or on the steps of a door, on a mat or cloth spread on the ground.

38. Import.

39. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.

40. Camp for collecting additional revenue.

41. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884, p. 558.

42. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.

43. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884, p. 557.

48. SMD-Pha., R.No. 136.

49. Ibid, November 1833.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid, paper No. 1

52. Ibid. See also BISM-T, Shake 1865-3, pp.13-14. Following were the watandars of Pratapganj Peth.

Harichand bin Dalichand Marwadi	-	Shete
Krushnarao Mohite	-	Mahajan
Vasudev Keshav Agte	-	Mushrif
Yesaji bin Bapuji Yerale	-	Faras Chaudhari
Padoji bin Gondaji Gaikwad	-	Kotwal
Madhavrao Viththal Mahajani	-	Pansare
Pandurang Narayan Agte	-	Dakim
Shivaji Raje Mahadik	-	Dhadvai
Madhavrao Ramchandra Joshi	-	Avti
Nanaji bin Krishnaji Gaikwad	-	Dange
Keshav Trimbak Golwalkar	-	Patki
Narayan Vishwanath Shevde	-	Potdar
Gopal Shivram Moghe	-	Joshi

Functions of the main officers of the market.

Shete	-	As a leader of the market, his main duty was to induce the dealers to develop the peth.
Mahajan	-	Assistant of a Shete.

Mushrif	-	He was an officer of the treasury who authenticates accounts and documents.
Kotwal	-	A superintendent of the market.
Pansare	-	Patki's assistant. Weighing was his main job.
Avti	-	He had the charge of the standard measures, and measures all the grain that was brought to market.
Patki	-	He was a subordinate officer employed in the collection of the customs.

53. Ibid, November, 1833, paper No. 13.

54. "रस्ते मात्र बांधावे. पंढरपुरापर्यंत किंवा कराड चिपळुणापर्यंत"
Roj. 5, 26.9.1822, p. 331.

55. Roj. 6, 29.3.1823, p. 105.

56. Roj. 6, 21.7.1823, p. 172.

57. DC-271, JG-WC, 1.9.1820.

58. SRC 5/2:22, JB-WC, 10.1.1826.

59. SMD-R, R.No. 30.

60. Roj. 4, 9.2.1821, p. 107. See also Roj.13, 12.2.1830, p. 191.

61. "सातारा येथे केर पडतो ताक्तीने व वाटा व गेल्या आल्यास अमंगल दिसते व रस्ते सरकारातून फार पैक्याने नीट करावे ते दुरुस्त न राहेत सबब पटी केराचे खानेसुमारी घरावर ठरविली."

Roj. 8, 5.6.1825, p. 130.

62. Roj. 7, 30.10.1822, p. 14.

63. "तद्नंतर श्री यक्तेश्वरास स्वारी जाऊन तेथील नळ पाहीला".
Roj. 1, 30.6.1819, p. 95.

64. Roj. 5, 26.9.1822, p. 331.

65. SMD-Pha., 12.5.1824, R.No. 136.

66. R. G. Rane, Chhatrapati Pratapsinha Maharaj Yanche Charitra, (Satara, 1929), p. 117.

67. R. D. Choksey, Raja Shahji of Satara, 1839-1848, (Poona, 1974), p. 164.

68. SMD-Pha., R.No. 135.

69. R. G. Rane, op.cit., p. 120.

70. R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 165.

71. SMD-Pha., 29.11.1818, R.No. 136.

72. Ibid, 14.6.1834, p. 14.

73. SMD-Pha., R.No. 132.

74. R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 160.

75. Ibid.

76. R. D. Choksey, RSS, pp. 132-133.

77. James Murray, 'Climate and disease', 1.1.1841, BGR, (N.S.), XLI, (1857), pp. 101-110.

78. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 13.2.1820.

79. Roj. 3, 12.6.1820, p. 51.

80. Roj. 5, 26.7.1822, p. 278.

81. DCIS, R.No. 6, file No.1.

82. Ibid.

83. See R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 164.

84. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX, Satara, 1884.

85. Ibid.

86. V. L. Bhave, MD - R.No.1 (Thane, Shake 1844), pp. 157-158.

87. R. D. Choksey, RSS, p. 165.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid, p. 164.

90. Ibid, p. 165.

91. Ibid, p. 164.

92. Ibid, p. 122.

93. D. B. Parasnis, Mahabaleshwar (Bombay, 1916).

94. Roj. 8, 22.8.1825, pp. 184-185.

95. Roj. 9, 21.4.1826, p. 117.

96. Roj. 11, 1.11.1827, p. 43.

97. D. B. Parasnis, op.cit., pp. 76-77.

98. Ibid.

99. Roj. 12, 15.5.1829, pp. 206-207.

100. D. B. Parasnis, op.cit., pp. 79-82.

101. Ibid.

102. Roj. 19, 23.5.1836, pp. 277-279.

103. Roj. 20, 30.4.1837, pp. 138-139.

104. D. B. Parasnis, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 106.

The new system introduced by the British in Satara in the 19th century naturally influenced the cultural and social life of the people, along with the political changes. What was the impact of this 'new order' on the personal life of the Raja and through him the social, religious life of the people of Satara would make an interesting study. In the following pages therefore, it is pròposed to undertake a brief resume of the development of education and conditions of social life prevailing in Satara during the period under review.

Education

Like his father Pratapsinha spent his early life as a prisoner of the Peshwa. The Peshwa had made no arrangements for his proper education required for a king, which is revealed in the various pages of the Raja's Rojnishi.[1]

James Grant, the first political agent who was acquainted with the Maratha customs and language, realized the necessity of developing Raja's taste for education. It was James Grant, who advised

Pratapsinha to maintain a 'Rojnishi' of the daily events.[2] He told him to write down the events of the day in a note book at the end of the day and keep it separately so that no body could see or read it. Grant felt that the Raja should take pains to learn the art of writing. He always kept on asking him about his progress in writing.[3] Grant cultivated in him a higher taste for literature and general knowledge. The close relationship of the Raja with this intelligent English gentleman had a wonderful effect on him. Even Elphinstone had noticed this change in Raja's personality, a consequence of the training that he received from Grant. He (the Raja), writes Elphinstone in 1826, "is the most civilized Maratha I ever met with, has his country in excellent order and everything to his roads and acqueducts in a style that would do credit to a European. I was more struck with his private sitting room than anything I saw at Satara. It contains a single table covered with green velvet at which the descendant of Shivaji sits in a chair and writes letters as well as a journal of his transvetion with his own hand..."[4]

Pratapsinha had a good library. He was of the opinion that his library should contain books, relating to all subjects. In the Rojnishi, it is stated that Madhavrao Munshi prepared a list of books relating to

various subjects, for the Raja.[5] Elphinstone had sent the Raja 'Panchopakhyan' and 'Vidurniti' in 1823. The library of Pratapsinha included many important books in Marathi and English.[7] Although, the Raja had a good library at his disposal we do not know about the readership of this library. It may be perhaps the personal collection of the Raja which made him realised the magnitude of the development of knowledge and the need for spreading educational activities. This is reflected in his approach and the work he did for the promotion of education in the Satara State.

The East India Company sent about 300 books of 'Panchopakhyan' and 'Vidurniti' to be sold in Satara on 18th February 1824.[8] In April 1826, 256 books of Balgoshti, Purnanka, Bodhwachan, Logaritham, Shala Padhdhati were also sent for sale.[9] In the Marathi documents we come across a reference that Jarvis from Bombay had also sent 324 books to Satara on 17th May 1828. Those were 'Apurnanka', 'Ganitakruti', Dictionary by Kennedy, 'Kartavya Bhumiti', Logarithm, 'Bodhwachan', 'Man Bodhkatha', Balgoshti', 'Mothya Pahate Uthon', and 'Shala Padhdhati'.[10] It is very interesting to know the prices of these books. The price of the Panchopakhan was Rs. 3 and of the Vidurniti Rs. 2. The book Apurnanka was available at Rs.2

and Annas 2. Purnanka had also the same price. Bodhkatha, Balgoshti, Bodhwachan were available for 2 annas, while Shala Padhdhati was available for 3 annas. Kartavya Bhumiti was sold at Rs.5.[11]

There were several demonstrations all over the deccan for expressing the true and loyal feelings of respect, esteem and admiration for the public and private virtues of a distinguished political personage, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone and all classes of people took part in them. The public spirited Raja of Satara, being a personal friend and admirer of Elphinstone took a leading part in this movement and presented a learned address under his signature to the departing Governor. It was decided that an educational institution should be established at Bombay to perpetuate the good name of that great statesman.

A written appeal for money was prepared by Madhavrao Ranchhod Das, Jamshetji Jeejibhai, Jagannath Shankarshet, Mahamad Ali etc. and was given to the Raja through the Resident, A. Robertson.[12]

Pratapsinha contributed Rs. 17,000 to the Elphinstone College.[13] His brother Appa Saheb contributed Rs. 5,000 while his cousin, Balawantrao Senapati Rs. 2,000.[14] This act of the Raja won him high praise and honour from all quarters. Elphinstone

appreciated this act of Raja. While leaving India, he wrote a letter to Pratapsinha in which he says, 'I am very glad to hear that Maharaja donated money for the college'.[15] "I was very happy", writes Grant Duff to the Raja in 1828, "to see your name at the head of so excellent and proper an address as that presented to Mr. Elphinstone. The institution of a college for the purposes specified confers an honour on the Native Gentlemen of India, which if rightly followed up will last for ever. Your Highness in consequence of this liberal act, has been appointed a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which, no doubt has been intimated to you..."[16]

Raja Pratapsinha took active part in education. John Briggs wrote, 'he has long established a private school in the palace wherein are fifteen of his own relations'.[17]

A. Robertson had highly praised, the private school conducted by the Raja. He says, 'he also maintains a well regulated school at Sattara, in which he has teachers of great respectability both as to character and attainments. This seminary was closely examined in all its details last October, by a very competent judge, the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, of the Scottish Mission, who, I am happy to say, expressed the highest satisfaction with it and did not scruple

to say, he considered it a far more useful establishment than the college at Poona'.[18] He further added, 'in this school His Highness has a number of youths of his own caste and relations of his (whose forefathers despised all such tuition) training up for his public service'.[19]

The main motive of Pratapsinha behind founding such school for 'Kshatriya' children was the upliftment of his own caste people. From 1825 onwards Pratapsinha had faced 'Gramanyas' (caste disputes) in which he upheld the cause of the Prabus as against the brahmins. The caste disputes between the brahmins and the marathas no doubt developed bitterness and hatred among them. Pratapsinha was against the chitpavan brahmins, the caste of the Peshwas. He felt that the chitpavan brahmins disliked him.[20] At one place he mentioned in his Rojnishi that Poona brahmins especially the chitpavans would rather die than do anything good for the Satara Raja.[21] Through this brahmin hatred Pratapsinha might have laid down a policy for the upliftment of his own caste people. He wrote in his Rojnishi that every attempt should be made to provide them education. The education would help them for getting jobs in military and in other fields and those who could not get jobs would be

provided loans for opening shops, enhancing trade and commerce.[22]

In this school Marathi, Sanskrit and the sciences usually taught in mothertongue. Persian, English, Arithmetic, Surveying, Revenue accounts and other subjects useful for the transaction of public business were also included in the curriculum.[23]

The Raja paid personal attention to the maratha students and saw to it they would be well trained in these subjects. He also said in his Rojnishi that they should also study how to construct roads and tanks.[24] Pratapsinha was of the opinion that he might use these educated marathas in every field of the state administration. In the Rojnishi at one instance he noted that this education would help the marathas to enter into the administration of the British.[25] The Vedic Mantras were also taught to the maratha children.[26]

Pratapsinha realised the importance of books and therefore very keen on introducing them in this school. For example '<u>shala padhdhati</u>' was introduced by him in this school.[27] It is noted in the Rojnishi that nine hundred books of science and arts were purchased by Pratapsinha for this school.[28] In October 1829, Jarvis visited Satara and also the

school maintained by the Raja. In that visit, Pratapsinha demanded the books relating to engineering and artillery to him.[29]

The monthly expenditure of this school was Rs.30[30] which mainly included various types of stationery charges.

During this period, in the Satara State, Wai, Pandharpur, Mahuli, Karad were the main centres of learning, which were conducted by the brahmins exclusively, mainly for the training of brahmins in Vedic literature.

At Satara there were about 31 private schools and 22 government schools.[31] Thirty-one private schools included seven schools of Rigveda, two of Yejurvedas, three of Puranas, one of Vaidyak (Medical Science), fifteen of Modi writing and three of Aapastamba.[32] Twenty-two government schools included two schools of Rigveda, one of Yejurvedas, two of Puranas, two of Astrology, two of Yadnik, three of Vaidyak (medical science), one of Modi writing, two of Persian, one of <u>Tirandajee</u> (military school), one of <u>Talim</u> (gymnasium), two of music and one of horse riding.[33]

Persian, Marathi, Modi writing, Vedas, astronogy, arithmetic, Sanskrit were the main subjects

taught in these schools. It is very difficult to pin point the curriculum. No documents are available which lay down the curriculum followed in these schools.

Besides these schools there were other private schools at Satara conducted by the missionaries. For example, the American mission school was started in 1834 by Mr. Graves of the American mission. From 1834 to 1849 the school was held every year during the fair season at Mahabaleshwar and during the rainy season at Satara.[34]

Pratapsinha took deep interest in the eradication of literacy at the family level by teaching the three 'Rs' to his wives and his daughter Gojrabai. We come across many references in the Rojnishi of Raja that he personally taught reading, writing to his wives.[35]

He encouraged scholars to write books on various subjects and those who took active part were rewarded.[36] Sabha Ranjani was written by Madhavrao Munshi at his instance.[37] In 1827 Sabha Nitee was published.[38] That book is related to diplomacy. A book relating to economics named Aay-Vyay Prakaran was published in the same year.[39] Sevak Bodhini was also written under the instruction of the Raja.[40] Aba Parasnis wrote Siddhanta Vijay. In 1826 Ramchandra

Daivadnya wrote Chhando Manjiree relating to astronomy. The other books like Ras-Tarangeenee, Karma-Kalpadrum were also written during this period.[41] There was a printing press at Satara from which Pratapsinha got printed many books.[42]

The system of education adopted by Pratapsinha continued under Raja Shahaji. Col. Ovans in his report to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay wrote that, 'the people here, show little or no inclination to have their children taught English, and as regards Mahratta, the great majority also appear to prefer the old established schools in the town to the new institutions.'[43]

Social Life

The society was mainly based upon the four varnas which were divided and subdivided into a large number of castes and subcastes mainly on the principle of the profession their members followed, but some times on other principles as well such as the region where they settled, the sect they belonged to and the tribe of which they were the members. The restrictions on social intercourses, on marriage and on dining were so rigid that each caste or subcaste or even a still smaller group became a unit by itself. The whole society being segmented into innumerable

separate divisions. Each group had its own communal organization such as Jati-Sabha.

Society was greatly influenced by religion. All the social activities were connected and controlled by religion.

At Satara auctions of cows, horses were not allowed. Slaughtering of cows were strictly prohibited.[44]

The custom of Sati was prevalent in the Satara State. At Wai, Mahuli, Karad and Pandharpur this practice was quite common.[45] Raja Pratapsinha issued an order in 1821, that a pregnant woman should not be allowed to become Sati, direct or indirect compulsion should not be made and at the same time, she should not be prohibited from becoming Sati if she was willing to do so.[46] The British always followed a policy of discouragement to Sati, without interfering in the religion. Elphinstone requested Grant, to grant an allowance according to their rank or station to all widows who might be dissuaded from burning themselves.[47] Under Pratapsinha a widow was given a small pension to prevent her from burning herself.[48] Grant in his report to Chaplin wrote that when any fit opportunity presented itself he did not fail to converse with the more sensible of the natives with whom

he had familiarity and daily intercourse on the Sati subject. He found some natives very liberal in their opinions and ready to admit the too frequent recurrence of these sacrifices. A proof of the good effect of this occurred, when Dajeeba Lagu died. The widow of Dajeeba was prevented from becoming Sati by Neelkantha Shastri, Viththalpant Phadnis. According to Grant this circumstance was important because it marked some change of opinion. It was creditable because, it was concerned the respectable personalities of the society.[49] Shahaji, in his regime abolished the custom of Sati.[50]

The institution of slavery prevailed in Satara under Pratapsinha. The male slave was styled '<u>Poraga</u>' and the female slave a '<u>Kunbin</u>'. Females were purchased and sold, but most of them were generally unmarried and of the Shudra caste. From the contemporary Marathi records, we get that Bhimi Kunbin sold his three children (one daughter and two sons) on 24th March 1824 to Mahtab Nayekin Bhorkarin for Rs. 40. In the <u>Kharedi Patra</u> she (Bhimikunbin) stated that she would be provided food and clothes till her death.[51] At the time of festivals, the female slaves got presents from their masters. On the occasion of the Diwali festival they got presents in return for waving

with lights in a platter. Shahaji, under his rule abolished the system of slavery and selling of men and women.

The most important aspect of social life, was the 'Gramanyas' (caste disputes) which took place between 1825 to 1838 in this territory.

A 'Gramanya' is a crystalization of conflicts between two castes or individuals belonging to the same caste and the caste group, about the observance of certain religious or social practices vis-a-vis, other members of society or of that particular caste group.

There are two main types of 'Gramanyas'. One is intercaste 'Gramanya', for example 'Gramanya' between two castes like brahmins and prabhus, second is the intra-caste 'Gramanya' which is a dispute between an individual of the same caste and the caste group. In other words, the 'Gramanya' of first type is essentially a conflict between two social groups while 'Gramanya' of the second type is a conflict between the members of the same caste group. The second type of 'Gramanya' was normally within the jurisdiction of the Caste Council (Jati-Sabha), therefore, its repercussions were normally confined to that particular caste. On the other hand, the intercaste 'Gramanya' was a wider social issue involving two

segments of the same society and thereby creating social unrest.

The types of 'Gramanyas' mentioned above are found in Satara during the period 1825-1838. The three main caste disputes, that took place during this period are discussed in this chapter. Though the issues were almost the same, the repercussions of each 'Gramanyas' differ from each other.

The main issue of the 'Gramanya' of 1826 between the brahmins and the prabhus was, whether the prabhus could perform their religious rites according to the Vedic Mantras. According to the Vedic tradition, the Kshtriyas had three rights - to perform sacrifice, to give charity and the study of the Vedas (यजन, दान, अध्ययन). The Prabhus claimed themselves to be the Kshatriyas and therefore entitled to perform all the religious rites of the Kshatriyas. These three rights which the Prabhus claimed were contested by the brahmins on the ground that according to the '<u>Skanda-Purana</u>', there were no 'Kshatriyas' left after their total extinction by Parshuram. The only Varnas left were the brahmins and the shudras. The Hindu scriptures say that the shudras could not perform religious rites according to the Vedic Manatras. It was on these grounds that the religious

privileges claimed by the Prabhus were contested by the brahmins.

The issue became prominent when Balwantrao Chitnis, the Secretary to the Raja of Satara, requested the Shankaracharya of Sankeshwar Math to testify that the prabhus belonged to the Kshtriya Varna. The Shankaracharya gave his opinion in Shake 1747 (1825) to Balwantrao Chitnis.[52] However, Shankaracharya did not mention categorically that the prabhus belonged to the Kshatriya Varna; he only mentioned in the letter that each caste should go according to the established tradition. Later when, the Shankaracharya arrived at Poona, the brahmins raised certain objections to his opinion. Chintamanrao Patwardhan, the Chief of Sangli and Balajipant Natu, former Assistant to Grant Duff persuaded the Shankaracharya to revise his decision, which would maintain the former position of the prabhus and sonars as shudras.

The issue whether the prabhus were the kshatriyas or not was discussed for two years in a conference held at the Belbag in Poona.[53] It is interesting to note that on this issue the brahmin caste itself was divided into two groups. Raghawacharya Gajendragadkar, a well known learned pandit and 'Vajra-taka' were of the opinion that the prabhus

were the kshatriyas. The opposite group was headed by Nilkanthashastri Thatte, a learned pandit and expert on Hindu Dharma-shastra. He was a former judge of the Satara Court (Adalat) and was held in high esteem by sections of the society. He did not subscribe to the view that the prabhus belonged to the kshatriya caste.

The original sources do not make it clear whether the decision of the Belbag conference went in favour or against the prabhus.

The brahmins of Wai refused to perform the religious rites according to the Vedic mantras of the prabhus at Mahabaleshwar.[54] The decisions of the Poona conference had their effects on Satara as well. The brahmins of Satara declined to perform religious rites according to the Vedic mantras for the prabhus. If any brahmin performed religious rites at a prabhu's house he was threatened with excommunication by other brahmins.[55]

When the dispute arose between the prabhus and the brahmins, Pratapsinha told both the groups that he would not interfere in the caste matters.[56] He told Balawantrao Chitnis to perform their religious rites on their own till a final decision was arrived in this matter.[57]

Balwantrao Chitnis made a petition to the government of the East India Company.[58] But the British Government refused to take cognizance of the dispute on the plea that it was an internal matter for the Hindu society and the policy of the British Government was not to interfere with the socio-religious matters of the Indians.

When both the governments refused to interfere the prabhus called a conference and it was decided that they would perform not only three duties but also other three namely Adhyapan, Yajan, Pratigruh on their own. The copies of that decision were sent to other cities and villages.[59] How this conflict was finally resolved is not recorded in the documents of this period which are available for scrutiny.

The 'Gramanya' between the brahmins and the marathas evolved out of the prabhu 'Gramanya' of 1826. The brahmins were not ready to accept the Chhatrapati of Satara and other maratha families as the kshatriyas. According to the brahmins, Parshuram eradicated the kshatriyas twenty-one times and therefore no kshatriyas were left on earth. So the present marathas were 'kunbis' and not the kshatriyas.[60]

The jagirdars of Satara in their letters addressed to Pratapsinha only as Chhatrapati and not

kshatriya kulawantansa (क्षत्रिय कुलावतंस) as we find in the original title of the founder of the marathas power - Shivaji.[61] We do find a reference in the Rojnishi of Raja Pratapsinha that he refused to reply to Chintamanrao Patwardhan of Sangli as he did not address him as 'Kshatriya-kulawantansa'.[62]

The brahmins refused to perform the religious rites according to the Vedic mantras for Pratapsinha and other maratha families. In the case of other maratha families like Aba Mohite and Tanukar, the brahmins were not performing the thread ceremony properly even according to the Puranik mantras.[63]

Pratapsinha took the permission from the Resident and sent his men to Thanjavur, Mysore, Udaipur, Nagpur, Dhar[64] to see whether the kshatriyas of those territories were observing their religious rites according to the Vedic mantras and also to collect authoritative sacred text books to enable the kshatriyas of Satara to perform their religious rites accordingly.

Pratapsinha sent to Udaipur a northern brahmin named Shivananda Shastri. Thakurdas Baba was sent to Mysore. The agent (Thakurdas Baba) from Mysore informed the Raja that the Rajas in those regions perform their religious rites according to the Vedic mantras. Further he wrote that he had copied two thousand

sections of books and would take more time for copying remaining books.[65]

According to a secondary source, Pratapsinha called a conference of learned pandits to ascertain whether the marathas were kshatriyas.[66] Viththal Sakharam Parasnis in this conference was to plead the side of the kshatriyas and Raghavacharya Gajendragadkar was to plead the side of the brahmins. The conference accepted the existence of the kshatriyas and conceded Twenty-four points regarding the issue - 1830.[67]

After winning the case Viththal Sakharam Parasnis documented all the twenty-four points with evidence and prepared a book entitled 'Siddhanta Vijay'. This book along with other books of Parasnis were sent to Udaipur and also to Karnatak for approval.[68]

Though the decision of the conference went in favour of the kshatriyas the brahmins declined to perform religious rites according to the Vedic mantras in the royal palace of Pratapsinha. On the contrary they sent a petition against him to Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay during his visit to Satara in March 1831.

Since the brahmins declined to perform religious rites according to the Vedic mantras, Pratapsinha wrote to Shivananda Shastri to search for

brahmins at Udaipur who could perform 'sacrifice' and daily religious rituals according to the Vedic mantras.[69] Shivananda Shastri answered in his letter to Pratapsinha that two hundred brahmins who could perform sacrifice etc.,religious rituals had agreed to come to Satara and perform the religious duties.[70] However, we have no evidence to prove that these brahmins actually arrived at Satara.

Pratapsinha in the midst of other internal problems, coronated himself in 1838 with the help of the book newly prepared.[71]

"Dharma Nirnaya" and "Shodash Sanskar" these two books containing the behavioural pattern of the kshatriyas, were prepared.[72] Pratapsinha ordered that these books should be printed and their copies be distributed among the kshatriyas. He further said that they should perform their religious rites according to these books and those who were not ready to follow them were to be fined.[73]

Raja Pratapsinha had about 257 manuscripts (pothis) in his idol house of which 197 were of Nagesh Bhatt, 55 were of kshatriya caste and 5 were of relating to the existence of kshatriya caste.[74] Pratapsinha considered Satara as the centre of the kshatriya caste just as Varanasi was regarded as the centre of brahmins.

This caste dispute between the brahmins and the marathas no doubt developed bitterness and hatred among them. Pratapsinha was against the Chitpavans. He always felt that the Chitpavan brahmins hated him.[75] This attitude of Pratapsinha towards the brahmins might have been due to the treatment that was accorded to him and his ancestors by the Peshwas in the earlier period. The marathas believed that the brahmins usurped power from them, whereas the chitpavan brahmins felt that the collusion of Pratapsinha with the English was mainly responsible for the total annihilation of the maratha power in 1818. This historical background might have led Pratapsinha to adopt a policy for the upliftment of his own caste people.

The third caste dispute, between the panchal brahmins also known as sonars and the brahmins, revolved round the issue that the sonars were shudras and they could not perform religious rites according to the Vedic mantras. At Wai, Pandharpur, Mahuli the brahmins were not only ready to accept their claims as the kshatriyas but also resorted to force occasionally.[76] When Jagannath Shankarshet came to Wai for performing the tonsuring (क्षौर) rite the brahmins of Wai took strong objection to him and did not allow him to perform it.[77] Jagannath Shankarshet

made an appeal to Pratapsinha who readily agreed to help him and provided an escort to go to Wai and perform the rite at the place which was assigned to the sonar community.[78]

The social tensions or the conflicts between different communities in the society was not a new phenomenon. We can go back to the days of Shivaji, the founder of maratha power and trace the disputes between the marathas and the brahmins, particularly regarding their kshatriya origin. But it did not assume much importance as a new experiment in building up, an independent political power was taken place in Maharashtra and all people irrespective of their caste and creed were involved in this movement. Similarly in the 18th century we find that as the maratha state found new avenues of expansion of their power their attention was diverted from the petty caste disputes to wider political activities in the north and in the south. Of course, this does not mean that there were no social tension or caste disputes at all, during this period. But they did not assume wider significance. We do find references to the disputes between the prabhus and the brahmins during the later half of the 18th century but both the parties, it appears, were trying to solve their disputes through conciliation.

The situation changed when the British wrested the power from the Peshwas in 1818. The proclamation issued by Elphinstone itself mentions that the brahmins usurped power from the marathas and the brahminical raj has come to an end.

After 1818, the marathas, the prabhus became conscious about their social rights. In the second half of the 18th century the prabhus had to face severe 'Gramanyas'. The marathas were also suffered. The support which the East India Company provided to the newly created Satara Raj and the law and order that was restored within a short time made the marathas, the prabhus and other communities to regain their lost rights which were denied to them. On the other hand the brahmins not only lost the political power but began to lose their higher social status as well. They tried to retain that. This conflict led to the 'Gramanyas' again. The condition of tranqulity and peace that was prevailing in Satara, it can be argued, might have led to the revival of the old disputes between different communities which were suppressed for a long time. This may explain the prominence given to the 'Gramanyas' in Satara during the early 19th century. Besides communal hatred, personal animosity might have been one of the factors

leading to these caste disputes in the 19th century.

This may be perhaps the beginning of non-brahmin movement in Maharashtra of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

<u>Notes</u>

1. "बाजीराव याणी काही येक विद्या सिको दिली नाही".
   Roj. 1, 15.7.1819, p. 103.
2. "मग बोल्लिले की म्हाराजानी जे नित्यावृत्त होअील ते
   वहीवर लिव्हावे".
   Roj. 1, 12.10.1818, p. 1.
3. Roj. 1, 15.7.1819, p. 103.
4. T. E. Colbrooke, <u>Life of Mountstuart
   Elphinstone</u>, p. 188.
5. "सर्व ग्रंथसंग्रह असावा म्हणून येकंदर ग्रंथाची नावनीसीचे
   पत्र माधवराव मुन्सी याणी पाठविले".
   Roj. 11, 15.1.1828, p. 118.
6. Roj. 7, 22.11.1823, p. 28.
7. Following were <u>some of the important</u> books of
   the Library (1829)

पंचोपाख्यान
विदुरन्निती
सिव्हासन बतीसी
शास्त्र वगैरे ग्रंथावर नवे ग्रंथ करण्यावसी गारनर साहेब याज-
क्डील ब्रीग साहेब याणी दिल्हे ते बुक असे
अुदबीज्याचे गुण व लक्षण
पक्षीयाचे गुण व लक्षण
जनावराचे गुण व लक्षण
तजुकात तअीमुरी
किता अिंग्रजी
सर्व विद्या क्लांचे

अिंग्रजी विद्याभ्यास करणेचे अुपयेागी

अिंग्रजी अभ्यास व कविता

जीराजीम्स बाअीची कथा

जेातीष प्रकर्ण अिंग्रजी

मराठी अुपयेागी ज्ञानाची बुके ज्यार्विस साहेबाकडून आली ती

न्तिीकथा मुंबअीचे छापखान्यातून आले ते

प्रीथीवीचे वर्तमान

हितेापदेश

माषा मंजिरी

सार दिपिका

नारदन्तिी, धेाम्यन्तिी

सतसया

१ अिंग्रजी बुके मराठी बखर अिंग्रजीत प्राटसाहेब याणी केली ती

प्राा१, प्राा२, प्राा३

क्तिा

रामचंद्र चंद्रिका

आेाषधाच्या वह्या २

अश्वपरिक्षा बुकी

हिंदुस्थान वर्तमान

हैदराबादचे वर्तमान पेशजी व हाली

शाहानामा

सिवाजी माहाराजाची बखर

राजाराम साहेबाची बखर

कर्तव्यभूम्तिी

अीसुपन्तिीकथा

सिक्षा माला प्रकरणे

अुपयेागी ज्ञान

सेवकन्तिी

मनबेाध कथा

बालबेाधीनी

दौलतीकडे
देहझाडा
दतपुत्र निर्णय
सरंजाम पेशवेवाले
जमाखर्चाचा बेहडा
जाहिरनामे
अल्काब
सभान्ती
हुकुमनामा
अदालतीची वहिवाट
जहागीरदार याचे बंदोबस्ताचा

खासगीकडील
हुकुमजाब्ता
कुलधर्म
सरकार वहिवटीची कामे
दरकदार व कारखानदार याचे कायद्याचे
दस-याचे
कोरे बुक ब्राह्मणाचे

8. SMD-R, R.No. 30.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Roj. 10, 9.9.1827, pp. 267-269.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Roj. 11, 23.11.1827, p. 64.
16. JIH, Vol. 15, 1836, JG-RP, 8.6.1828, pp. 221-236, 368-386. See also Roj. 12, 7.7.1829, pp. 299-300.
17. SRC 5/2:22, JB-Newnham, 12.7.1826.
18. PP-2, p. 1268.
19. Ibid.
20. Roj. 12, 29.10.1829, pp. 14-15.
21. Roj. 13, 23.9.1830, 0. 569.
22. Roj. 13, 22.6.1830, p. 409.

23. PP-2, p. 1268.
24. Roj. 12, 22.5.1829, p. 213.
25. Roj. 12, 15.9.1829, p. 368.
26. Roj. 14, 26.11.1830, p. 77.
27. Roj. 11, 26.6.1828, p. 277.
28. Roj. 12, 23.6.1829, p. 265.
29. Roj. 13, 15.10.1829, pp. 16-17.
30. SMD-Pha., R.No. 132.
31. Roj. 9, 17.8.1820, p. 179.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XIX,1884
35. Roj. 11, 3.11.1828, p. 361.
36. Roj. 11, 7.10.1828, p. 368.
37. Bharat Varsha-2, pp. 341-342.
38. Ibid, pp. 540-553.
39. R. G. Rane, Chhatrapati Pratapsinha Maharaj Yanche Charitra (Satara, 1929), p. 122.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid, p. 123.
42. Roj. 17, 5.8.1834, p. 262.
43. R. D. Choksey, Raja Shahji of Satara, 1839-1848, (Poona, 1974), p. 124.
44. Roj. 3, 11.9.1820, p. 143.
45. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.
46. Roj. 14,12.6.1821, p. 254.

47. SRC 5/2:1, ME-JG, 8.11.1818.

48. SRC 5/2:15, JG-WC, 25.5.1820.

49. Ibid.

50. SMD-Pha., R.No. 145.

51. DCIS, R.No. 6, file 1.

52. R. G. Rane, op.cit., p. 129.

53. Roj. 15, 15.12.1831, p. 81.

54. Ibid.

55. Roj. 10, 5.6.1827, p. 158.

56. Roj. 10, 6.6.1827, pp. 159-160.

57. Ibid.

58. Roj. 15, 15.12.1831, p. 81.

59. R. G. Rane, op.cit., pp. 139-140.

60. Roj. 9, 3.5.1826, p. 122.

61. Ibid.

62. Roj. 11, 6.8.1828, p. 317.

63. Roj. 13, 27.5.1830, p. 358. See also Roj. 13, 29.5.1830, p. 362.

64. G. S. Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat Uttar Vibhag-3, (Bombay, 1932), p. 603.

65. Roj. 15, 13.12.1831, p. 77.

66. G. S. Sardesai, op.cit., p. 603.

67. K. S. Thakare, Gramanyacha Sadayant Itihas Arthat Nokarshahiche Band, (Bombay, 1919), pp. 173-174.

68. Ibid, pp. 174-175.

69. Roj. 14, 27.10.1830, p. 37.

70. Roj. 15, 25.11.1831, p. 58.

71. G. S. Sardesai, <u>op.cit.</u>,

72. Roj. 17, 11.3.1834, p. 147.

73. Ibid.

74. Roj. 17, 2.9.1834, p. 283.

75. Roj. 12, 29.10.1829, pp. 14-15.

76. Roj. 10, 16.12.1826, pp. 44-45.

77. Roj. 10, 18.12.1826, p. 46.

78. Ibid.

EPILOGUE

The brief history of Satara, narrated in the foregone pages shows how a progressive state was taking shape in the Maratha country in the first half of the 19th century. But it was really an irony of fate that this growing tree of the state was cut by those who planted it. It was indicated by the creators of the state when they granted it with a limited sovereign power, that the purpose behind it was to win the support of the Maratha community which had suffered at the hands of the Peshwas, the brahmin rulers. Did the British by 1848-49 win the Marathas to their side by annexing the state of Satara? The subsequent history of the Marathas betrays this earlier feeling of the British. By making a clear-cut distinction between the Brahmin Raj and the Maratha Raj, a cleavage was created and nourished, which ultimately caused social-tensions in the Maratha country.

The history of Satara is closely related with the general policy of the British in India. The policy introduced by Lord Wellesley through his subsidiary alliance system was essentially an imperial

policy. The responsibility of founding the British Raj fell into the hands of the British administrators like Munro, Elphinstone, in the first half of the 19th century in Maharashtra. They had adopted a liberal and sympathetic attitude. But Dalhousie, through the doctrine of lapse again initiated an imperial policy in India. In fact the deposition of Raja Pratapsinha was the first step towards its subsequent annexation. It is true that the creation of the Satara state by Elphinstone was later regretted by his successors. In the days of the bitter quarrel with the Raja these feelings of regret, for having created a state of Satara, were expressed by the highest dignitary Sir Robert Grant the Governor of the Bombay Presidency.

The central figure in the history of Satara was Raja Pratapsinha. He was born in 1792. He was coronated to the Maratha empire by Peshwar Bajirao II in 1808, after the death of his father, 'Shahu II'. Elphinstone describes the Raja, who met him for the first time at Belsar as 'not handsome but good-humoured and frank'. Balwantrao Malhar Chitnis who had given a pen-picture of his master in a booklet, describes him as short and thin person. Like his father, Pratapsinha also spent his early life as a

prisoner at the hands of the Peshwa. He had received no education as such. He was unknown to administration as he had not received any formal training in administration.

His enthronment by the British in 1818 began with a considerable amount of doubt about his ability to be a successful ruler. Pratapsinha had noted in the Rojnishi that he accepted the Raj given by the British as a challenge. He wanted to prove his abilities and qualities. No doubt he was successful in it. Thanks to the training of James Grant, the first Resident at the court of Satara. During his four years stay at Satara Grant played a dual role. On the one hand he was the mentor of Pratapsinha in all fields and on the other hand he was to run the administration of Satara. The settlement of Satara, under its native prince, presented a challenge to him. He made Satara one of the most orderly native courts in India. The credit does not only go the Resident but also to the Raja for his cooperation, hardwork and good grasp of the administration.

His intimate acquaintance with James Grant, changed and developed his personality. Through his teachings and friendly advices one can see a gradual development of his mind and personality. He possessed elasticity of mind which is necessary for progress.

The period 1818-1822 is a transitional period in the development of his personality. These four years are also important for his administrative apprenticeship.

Pratapsinha learnt many things from Grant, who impressed on his mind the importance of hardwork and painstaking industry. It is surprising that the man who was novice to writing, had left such a huge of amount of writing in the form of Rojnishis (Diaries) for a period of twenty two years. It was Grant who told the Raja to maintain a Rojnishi of the daily events. He told him the importance of writing and often asked Vithal Ballal, his Diwan about his progress in writing. Grant even told Pratapsinha the formats of different types of letters. He asked him 'not to write muslim words, but use always Marathi words'. While teaching every thing in detail to the Raja, he also acquainted him with administration and put before him the principles of government like incorruptibility, anti-nepotism, rule of law and welfare of people, etc.

With these principles, policies and teachings of Grant, the Raja administered his country so well, that for the next thirty years the state was never involved in any pecuniary difficulties. In the famine of 1824, the Raja set an example in personal economy. His management of Jath and Akkalkot showed

a wisdom which was deeply admired by all. The Raja could be generous when occasion demanded. He was industrious and intelligent to a degree that astonished his critics. The Raja and his brother established criminal and civil courts that dispensed justice, a department in which the Raja took great interest and received great praise from all concerned. His revenue settlement compared favourably well when all others failed elsewhere. He changed the face of Satara by public works and tried to make it as an organised modern urban centre.

Pratapsinha loved education and recognised its importance. He had a very good library in which both Marathi and English books were included. He introduced many new books in the school maintained by him at Satara. He took interest in teaching the three 'Rs' to his wives and his daughter Gojrabaisaheb. But at the same time he was against sending females to public schools. He expressed his strong dislike in Rojnishi when his uncle Shirke sent his daughter to a public school.

Pratapsinha was a religious minded man. He used to perform religious rites daily. He used to visit religious places like Tuljapur, Jejuri, Nashik and Bhavani of Pratapgad.

Pratapsinha had great faith in traditions. He never tried to go against the religion and customs. He had heard the name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He desired once that he should visit to Satara. But he did not feel sincerely that the practice of sati should be stopped. He did not appreciate the efforts of the contemporary social reformers. He was of the opinion that we should behave and act according to the ways stated in religion. But on the other hand at one place in his Rojnishi he stated that he would accept many things from the British, but not their religion and food style.

It would not be wrong to observe that Pratapsinha was overconscious about his caste. He was very proud of being a Kshatriya. He conducted a school for Kshatriya children. He had developed bitterness and hatred against Chitpavan brahmins, naturally for historical reasons. At one place he mentioned in his Rojnishi that Poona brahmins especially the Chitpavans would prefer death to any thing good for the Satara Raja. This anti-brahmin attitude might have been due to he treatment that was accorded to him and his family by Peshwa Bajirao II in the earlier period of his life. In fact the motive behind the creation of the Satara state was 'to establish among the marathas a counterpoise to the remaining influence

of the former brahmin government'. The 'Gramanyas' or caste-disputes also led to the development of animosity of the Raja towards the Chitpavan brahmins. However, it may be observed that the 'Gramanyas' and the anti-brahmin attitude of the Raja indirectly fostered the strong desire to uplift his own caste people.

Pratapsinha was just, benevolent and progressive. He showed keen interest in promoting education. Under his initiative many new books were written and printed at the press at Satara. His acts were always beneficial to his subjects.

He was very conscious about his image in the public eye. At one place in the Rojnishi, he wrote that he took much pains, worked hard not for getting or preserving his Raj but only for a good name. He had no lust for power. So he was very much hurt when he was dethroned by the British by false charges against him and without a trial.

There are very few references in the Rojnishi about his family life. His relations with his wives, with his mother Maisaheb and with his two brothers were cordial and good. He had great trust, confidence and love for his cousin Balasaheb Bhosle, the son of Chatursing Bhosle.

But the most important part of his personality was his attitude and feelings towards the British. It is interesting to study the changes that took place during the course of his career.

There are three phases. The first phase is before 1818, or on the eve of his joining the British. Second is between 1818 and 1827 and third is from 1827 onwards.

On the eve of his joining the British, he had great confidence in them. He had great faith and trust on their justice and friendship therefore he joined them.

When the British installed him on the Satara 'Gadi' and gave a Raj, though very small, in 1818 he felt much obliged to them. He wrote in his Rojnishi that the British gave him the Raj, gave money for building the palace like the God who bestowed some things to his worshippers. He felt that he possessed nothing in the initial period but it was the British who not only gave him the Raj but also taught him how to administer it efficiently and earn the reputation as a benevolent ruler.

But when he started applying his knowledge to actual problems of the state, (the third phase) particularly after the departure of Briggs who be-longed to the 'Elphinstone family', he began to feel

the change in the attitude of the British which finally led to the extinction of Satara state.

Raja Pratapsinha, a highly cultured man, who had always the good of his people at his heart, fought for justice unrelentlessly till his death. Justice was however denied to him at the bar of the British Government, but he did not give up his constitutional methods in acquiring it. In a way he set an example before the future generations who were fighting for freedom by constitutional means.

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